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OF THE REBEL ARMY

General James B. McPherson





MAJOR-GENL THE EARL OF LUCAN, K. S. R. A. C.

From a Daguerrotype by Mayall

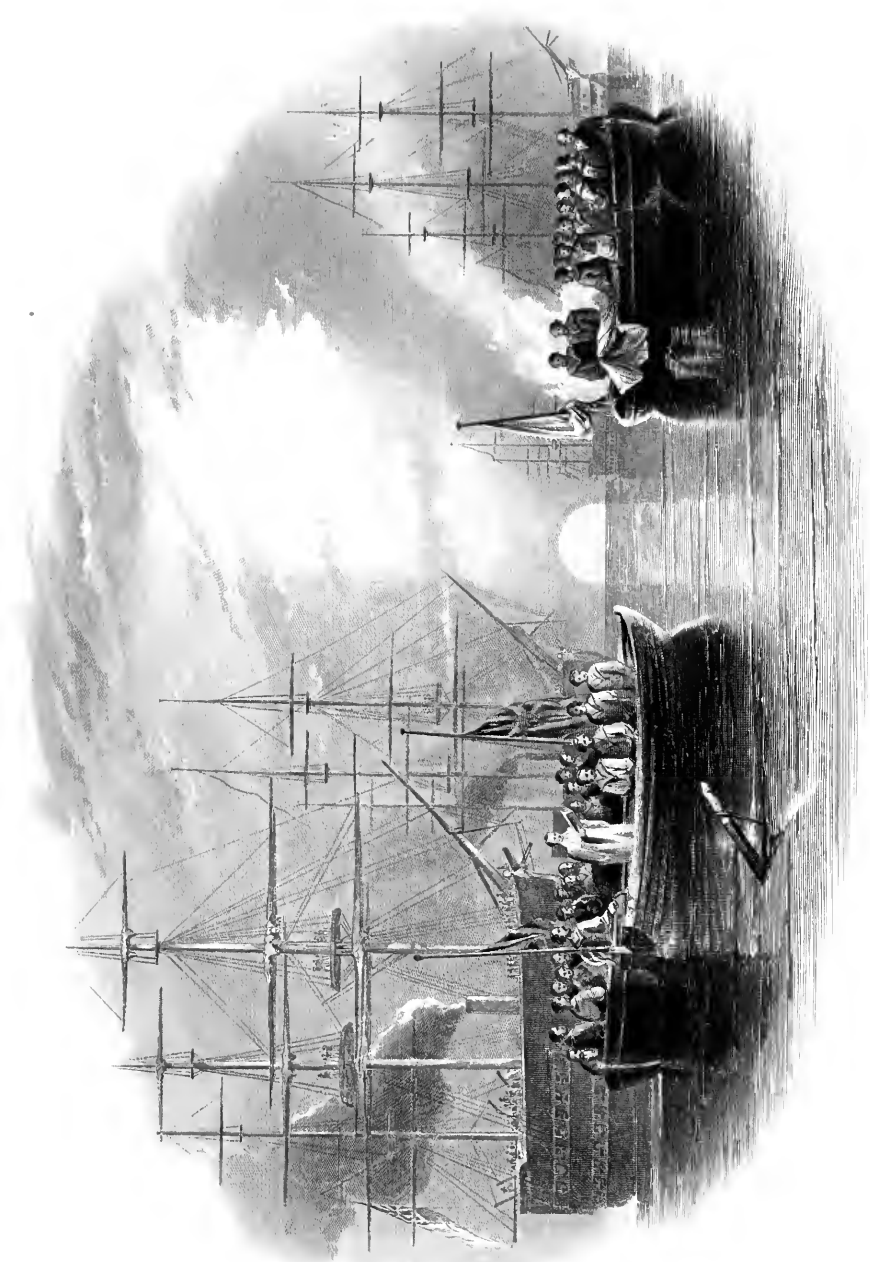




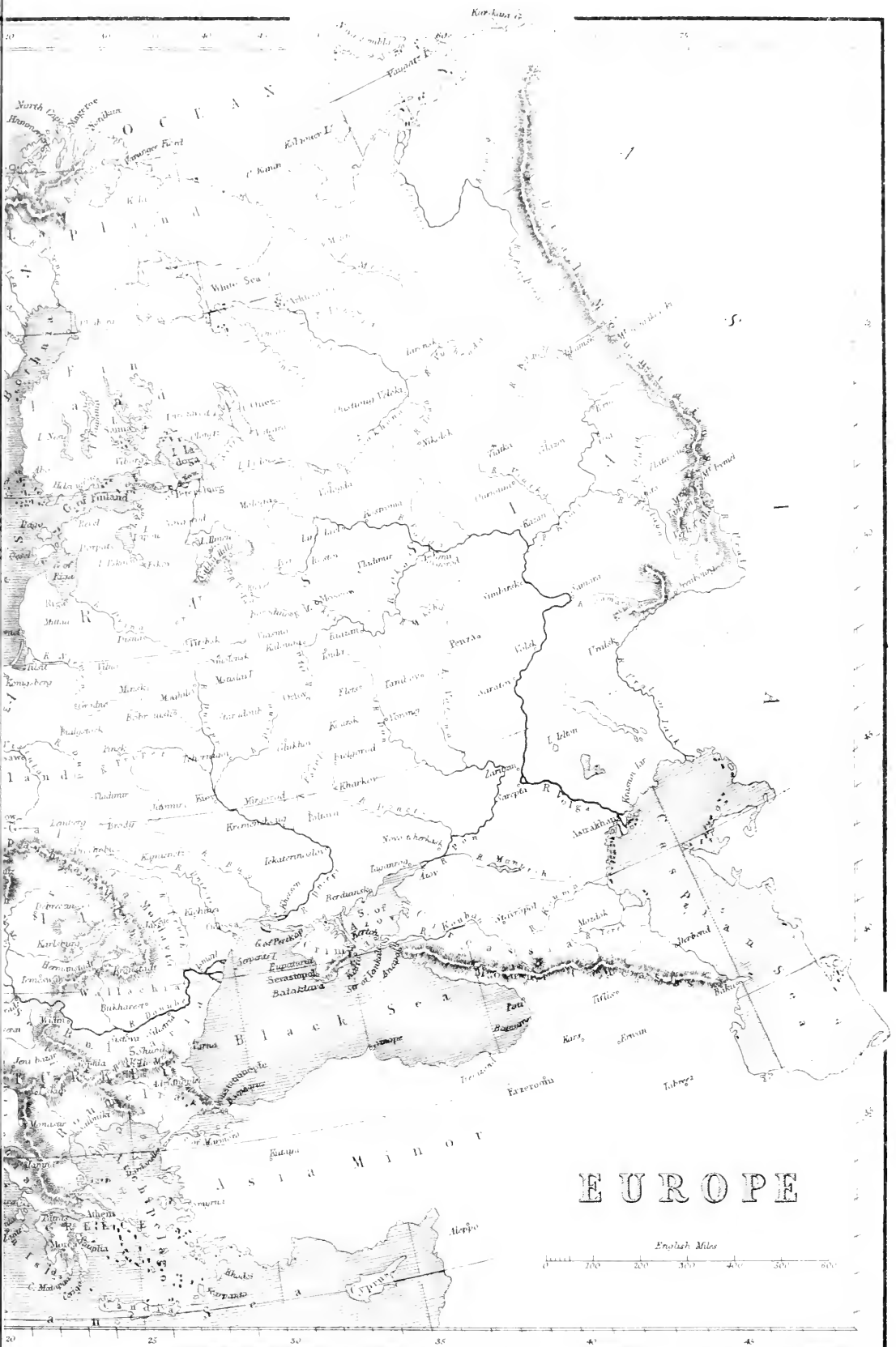
Portrait of General Sir John D. A. Gordon, K.C.B., and his sons, Major-General Sir John D. A. Gordon, K.C.B., and Captain John D. A. Gordon, K.C.B.











from want of food; but he invoked heaven and earth to support his assertion that the armies had the greatest abundance supplied by the fleets. His vociferations and earnestness staggered the incredulity of his interrogator, who was surprised to hear that the invaders were in such good circumstances. Another of these inquisitive gentlemen asked an Irish soldier, in a sort of confidential tone, how many men did duty in the trenches at night, intimating his own knowledge of the very reduced state, numerically, of the British forces. Pat, looking about him knowingly, as if afraid of being caught in giving information to the enemy, whispered, "About 7000, your honour, does duty every night in the trenches, and a *wake* covering party of 10,000." The Russian, delighted with the ready wit of the poor fellow, told the French and English officers how well he had been answered. The allies were much struck, as they retired from this friendly intercourse, by the distinctness with which their works could be seen from the side of the enemy, while from the highest ground in the allied rear, their own works, or the enemy's, could be but imperfectly seen. A number of French were found dead within the enemy's lines, whither, in their too forward valour, they had pursued the flying foe.

In narrating the course of the action, the fall of an Albanian chief has been recorded. Mr. Woods, who saw him lying where he fell, thus describes his appearance among the slain:—"At the left end of this work was the little mortar-battery. Several broken Russian firelocks were here; and between the mortars, in a row, lay some eight or ten Russian corpses, with their little round caps laid over their faces. In the corner several blood-stained stretchers leant against the parapet. Captain Chapman, R.E., was here, with one or two artillery officers; and behind, where the little group stood chatting, lay the body of the Albanian chief, who had led so many sorties against the English. It was that of a man in the prime of life, well formed and muscular. His weapons were gone, and the body had been partially stripped. The jacket was open, and showed three deep bayonet-thrusts in the chest, and the healed scars of two former wounds were plainly visible. The countenance had a horrible expression: the blood which had flowed from the mouth had dried upon it; the eyes were staring wide, and the rich black hair was matted and frowzy. His flowing kilt, all torn and soiled, had been used as a kind of shroud, and partially enveloped the corpse. Outside the work, the dead lay thick, and just as they had fallen. About one hundred were there in all."

The same writer describes the Redan, and as that fortification became afterwards such an important work against the operations of the

British in the two great assaults, it will interest our readers to peruse the description:—

"On the left of the Malakoff, but projecting 100 yards in advance of it, was the Redan. This is now one of the most tremendous of all the Russian works. Its three faces have, in parts, double tiers of guns,—there being in this one battery alone, it is calculated, not less than 150 pieces of ordnance, some of them of the heaviest calibre used in warfare. This work, like the Malakoff, is also defended by a broad deep ditch, with an abattis on the slope of the glacis. From between these batteries a most admirable view could be had right down into the town behind. Even with the naked eye everything might be seen quite distinctly; but, with a good glass, a minute examination could be made."

Mr. Woods could see no signs of injury done to the town by the six months' cannonade; but Mr. Russell, Colonel Hamley, and others, bear a different testimony: the point of view from which it was regarded by the different observers will probably explain this diversity.

The British officers were astounded at the piles of shot, shell, splinters, broken muskets, bayonets, swords, pouches, cartouches, bags, knapsacks, &c., which choked the way in different directions, so frequent had been the struggles in the front of the allied lines.

As soon as the work of burial was over, the Russians immediately opened fire—their riflemen from the loose stones and gabions built up before the quarry-holes near the Mamelon, and the artillery from the redoubt recently constructed there. The English replied with promptitude and effect, and the French quickly joined their cannonade.

Some obscure hints had been given during the time of the truce, about a great gun that would speedily open upon the English. The significance of these hints became apparent on the morning of the 25th, when, from the left inclosure of the Mamelon, an enormous cannon directed its fire upon the British right attack, No. 3 Battery—this battery had for several days done great mischief to the Russian works. The use of the electric telegraph in the camp, where it had just been completed, was now apparent, for a message was sent to the commander-in-chief by that medium, announcing that this tremendous cannon had been just unmasked, and asking for instructions. By the same medium the instant reply was flashed to the British battery from head-quarters, "Fight it." They did fight it, and beat it. A long 68-pound ship-gun, from on board the *Terrible*, was brought up—and the name, in this case, was prophetic, for the very first shot tore away the Russian embrasure, and left the gun exposed; the next shot struck the gun in the muzzle, splitting and dismounting it.

Within five minutes the electric telegraph answered the command "to fight it" by the message, "It has been fought, and is dismounted." What a novel scene in warfare is this! and how the scientific progress of the age was marked upon the rocky siege-ground before Sebastopol, as signally as when along iron roads, or beneath stormy seas, the electric wire gives its rapidly-conveyed intelligence!

On the 26th, Captain Hill of the 89th—mentioned in the last despatch from Lord Raglan—met his death in consequence of the ignorance which he, in common with the officers generally, evinced of the topography of the country. He had wandered into the Russian lines; the sentinels challenged, "*Qui va là?*" "*Nous Français,*" was the unfortunate answer; the Russian picket fired, and Captain Hill fell dead. A few men were with him, who retired upon their own picket; but on its advance, his body was not to be found. Lord Raglan much regretted his loss.

The Russians continued to work with the mattock and the trowel, and to erect earth-works and gabions, and repair damages, with a laborious energy never surpassed in any siege. They erected two new redoubts opposite the flanks of the British right, where a few nights before there were no appearances of any intention to erect new fortifications. As fast as they erected works they armed them; as fast as they armed, they manned and used them. On Mount Sapoun, to the right of the Mamelon, new works had also been thrown up, and partly armed, although the discharge of shells upon the spot seemed to render it impossible for men to work there. They also connected their rifle-pits by a trench, which they extended to the ravine described in the account of the action of the 22nd. In this manner an intrenched line was formed within eighty yards of the French, fortified with the rifle ambuscades, and covered by the guns of the Mamelon, while it defended the approaches to the Mamelon, rendering the storming of that work an extreme difficulty. Thus, at the end of March, was Sebastopol stronger than ever.

Information reached the British camp, by deserters, that the Russian soldiers were on half rations; that their pay was long in arrears; that all the superior officers of the navy were killed, and the sailors disheartened; and that the soldiers were murmuring at want of food and want of money: but so frequently did deserters bring similar tidings, which they supposed would please the allies, that it is strange any attention was paid to them.

At Balaklava Sir Colin Campbell was kept very much on the alert. Every day the new telegraph bore its flashing message to him from head-quarters, ordering out the troops in the early mornings, which were almost

as cold then as two months before. General Osten-Sacken, who was in observation of Sir Colin's position, showed caution, vigilance, and activity: his videttes and pickets constantly annoyed Sir Colin, while he rendered his own position extremely strong, and, in his own opinion, according to his despatches, impregnable.

April opened as coldly as March ended, and the sharp nights with which it began, like those in March, tried the health of the men, notwithstanding the great improvement in that respect which had been experienced. Indeed, the very first consideration in the English army was the health of the men—reinforcements came slowly, and the sick who went to Sentari seldom returned; the hospital there was still a pest-house, and despair alone seemed to remain for those who entered its pestilence-stricken precincts. On the 3rd of April, Lord Raglan wrote to the minister of war, sending inclosures from the inspector-general of hospitals, containing important information in connection with this subject. The following is the despatch and the reports of Dr. Hall. From these the reader will be able to glean for himself the true condition of the camp, as to the health of the soldiers, and the hope that might reasonably exist in that respect:—

Before Sebastopol, April 3.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship a letter of this date from Dr. Hall, enclosing a weekly return of the sick of the army up to the 31st ultimo. Your lordship will see, with satisfaction, that the general health of the army continues steadily to improve. I have also to submit to your lordship, with reference to your despatch of the 26th of February, the copy of a letter from the same officer on the question of accommodation for wounded men in the event of any sudden emergency occurring. As the ships referred to by Dr. Hall are constantly on passage, and might all be so at the time they might be wanted for the wounded, I proposed to Sir Edmund Lyons to have some sailing-vessels got ready for their reception; and accordingly, with his sanction, the following transports are under preparation:—*Orient, Sir George Pollock, St. Hilda, William Jackson, and Poitiers*; and it is calculated that they will hold from 100 to 150 men each.

I have, &c.,
The Lord Penmore, &c. RAGLAN.

INCLOSURE No. 1.

Before Sebastopol, April 3.

MY LORD,—In transmitting the weekly state of sick to the 31st of March, I have the honour to state—and I am sure it will be pleasing to your lordship to learn—that the general health of the army continues steadily to improve; and, although fevers and bowel-complaints continue to prevail, they are both assuming a milder character, and the latter are of much less frequent occurrence. During the present week the admissions to strength have been in the ratio 3.93 per cent., and the deaths to strength 0.38 per cent. Last week the admissions to strength were 4.35 per cent., and the deaths 0.52 per cent., which makes a decrease of 139 in the admissions, and 43 in the deaths during the week. Fever continues to prevail in some particular regiments more than in others; but I am in hopes change of locality will correct this. The comforts of the men are greatly improved in every respect, and it is evinced by their cheerfulness and more healthy appearance. The rations are good and abundant, the men are

well clothed, and due attention is paid to the sanitary condition of the different camps. The supply of water is ample at present, and means are being adopted to insure it in future, by constructing new tanks, cleaning out those that already exist, and digging fresh wells. Indeed, so far as the physical wants of the men are concerned, I am of opinion the force is as well provided as any army can reasonably expect to be when employed on active service in the field. The hospitals are on a respectable footing, not crowded, and amply provided with all that is necessary for the comfort and welfare of the sick; and, if the casualties of war do not fill our hospitals, we may fairly look forward to have a diminished sick list in future. But, should the chances of war unfortunately produce wounded, I calculate we shall be able to accommodate 1400 on shore, and arrangements are being made for the reception of between 500 and 600 on board ship, which I sincerely trust will be more than sufficient for our wants.

I have, &c.,

J. HALL, *Inspector-general of Hospitals.*

To Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., Commanding-in-chief.

INCLOSURE No. 2.

Before Sebastopol, March 23.

SIR,—With reference to the question of accommodation for wounded men in the event of any sudden emergency arising, I have the honour to state, for the information of the field-marshal commanding-in-chief, that, in addition to the accommodation which the regimental establishments of the divisions in front will afford—say from 250 to 300—I propose to occupy thirty of the new huts in rear of the third division, at present in possession of the 11th and 39th regiments, which would afford comfortable accommodation for 480; and as these huts are built on dry, elevated, clean ground, with water not very distant, I calculate thirty more of the huts might be given over in case of any very great emergency, and the troops put under canvas, which would afford room for 480 more. At the Sanitarium at Balaklava I calculate on accommodation for 200 wounded, in addition to the convalescents there at present, when the huts now in course of erection are completed. From the crowded state of the general hospitals at Scutari, the length of time they have been occupied, and the amount of fever that has prevailed in them of late, I am most unwilling to send wounded men there if I can possibly avoid it; but should necessity compel us to resort to that measure, the

Melbourne	130	} 620
Brandon	110	
Sydney	100	
Australian	100	
Severn	180	

steamers are already fitted as hospital-ships, and would be capable of transporting, with ease and comfort, 620 wounded. The hospital establishments at Smyrna, Abydos, and Gallipoli, are full; and, as typhoid fever is reported to have made its appearance in the hospital at Smyrna, it would not be desirable to send wounded men there during its continuance. If compelled to form another hospital establishment out of the Crimea, I should suggest, from what I have heard, that Sinope be selected. I speak from hearsay, for I have never been there myself; but perhaps the commander-in-chief might be pleased to have it surveyed by some competent person, and a report made of its capabilities. Our accommodation for wounded, taking minimum numbers, will therefore stand thus:—

Regimental hospitals	250 to 300
New huts occupied by the 14th and 39th regiments	480 to 960
Sanitarium at Balaklava	200
<hr/>	
Additional	930
On board transports	530
<hr/>	
	620
<hr/>	
	2080

I have, &c.,

J. HALL, *Inspector-general of Hospitals.*

To Major-general R. Airey, *Quartermaster-general.*

About that period General Forey's command of his division was accepted reluctantly by the French emperor. At first his majesty refused to accept the general's resignation, but the latter, feeling his honour hurt by certain reports affecting his loyalty raised in the Crimea, persisted in giving up his command, and the emperor appointed him to "the Oran division" in Algeria. The general did not retire from the Crimea until a later date.

It was determined by the allied commanders to renew the bombardment on the 9th of April; accordingly the labour of their soldiers for that object became incessant as the time approached, so much so that the French, whose numbers enabled them to have regular reliefs up to April, were now in the trenches three nights out of seven. From 12,000 to 14,000 men were on duty each night. The English still suffered dreadfully from over toil; the numerical strength of the English army was perilously and even preposterously small in comparison with their works; and the officers of engineers and artillery reported perpetually to the commander-in-chief their inability to execute works or work batteries without men. Still the English wrought on, and endured their fatigue without a murmur; they made a trench much nearer the enemy's works than they had yet approached, and the pickets were within sixty yards of each other, and frequently joked one another. It was strange that the Russians did not interrupt the progress of the British, although their shells burst perpetually over the working parties of the French. The enemy appeared to have inexhaustible *material* of war, and used heavy charges of powder beyond precedent in gunnery—the balls were driven with great force against the allies. The English suffered more from the balls than from the shells.

On the 1st of April there was a dangerous fire at Balaklava, but it was extinguished, chiefly by the exertions of the 71st Highlanders.

Major-general Scarlett left on the 2nd for England, summoned home by the dangerous illness of his wife. Lord G. Paget assumed the command of the cavalry.

The benefit of the railway began now to be felt in a new way: the sick and wounded soldiers were carried down by it to Balaklava in half an hour, without subjecting them to jolting, fatigue, or exhaustion. It was, alas! too frequently necessary so to employ it; yet not a man could be spared, for the total strength of the British army was but 22,000, and of them only 15,000 rank and file could be brought together for defensive or offensive operations. The English formed as to number a strong division of the French army,—this was their real position; but their lines and batteries

were very powerful, their artillery far superior to the French, and their fighting qualities unequalled by any army in the world. It could be said of them in every engagement, whether a combat or a battle—

"Nothing could daunt, nothing dismay
Those island warriors on that day,
Through all the changes of the fray,
No matter how the battle sped,
Unbroken stood the line of red
Majestically firm.
The line of red that never yields,
Victorious in a hundred fields!"

On the 2nd the French lost a very superior officer of engineers; he had previously been wounded by a rifle-ball, and the wound proved mortal.

On the 3rd a working party of the English effected a very important object, that of connecting by a trench the advanced parallels of the two attacks. Not a man was lost during this operation, although the men worked within range of the Russian riflemen, and of discharges of grape and canister from some of the Russian guns: it was moonlight—still more increasing the hazard; yet not a wound was received. As day dawned the Russians brought down two fieldpieces, but an English nine-pounder was opened upon them, and speedily silenced them. Several men were killed and wounded when daylight enabled the Russians to take surer aim.

On the 4th several officers and some of the staff had a very narrow escape: they were collected in a group near the British mortar battery, and several French officers joined them. A shell from the enemy fell into their midst, but did not explode until the officers, throwing themselves down, had rolled to a considerable distance; none of the party were hit, but a splinter wounded a French soldier fifty yards off. Most of the gentlemen hastened away as soon as the explosion took place; others remained, and were joking at the flight of their companions, when another shell fell amongst them, but all escaped, and became fugitives like their forerunners.

On the evening of the 5th the English threw two rounds of 13-inch shells from their mortar battery, each round cast three shells; the first fell in different parts of the Round Tower, and still further promoted the destruction of that dilapidated building. The effect could be distinctly seen from the British lines; a bystander thus graphically, and yet humorously, relates it:—"Beams of timber, trunks of bodies, legs and arms of human beings, were seen to fly up in the air, and after a time a blaze of fire ran along a portion of the work, which appeared to spring from one of the enemy's mines. The second salvo must have been very destructive also. On the whole, the

result was so satisfactory to the feelings of a sailor in the battery, that he then and there expressed his decided determination to Captain Grant to reward him for his conduct with the entire use and possession of his whole 'go of grog' for that day." There was heavy firing as the shades of evening fell; and during the night a party of British workmen accidentally encountered a party of Russians: a confused fight with picks and spades ensued, the English driving the Russians up towards the allied lines. At this juncture the Russian pickets advanced, and the English workmen were taken by them in the rear; the British picket advancing, the Russian workmen were placed in a similar predicament. The result, after a combat which frequently ebbed and flowed, was the defeat of the Russians with a loss of 150 men; the British loss was 37.

The 6th of April was signalised by a railway accident. A party of the 71st Highlanders went down to Balaklava from head-quarters, whither they had gone up for Lord Raglan's inspection; the train by its own momentum rushed down, rendering the breaks useless, and only for the skill and courage of the director of the train the casualties would have been heavy: as it was, one was killed, and a dozen or more wounded; several had to undergo amputations.

It was generally expected that the bombardment would open on that day; the French urged it, forgetting that the English could not be in the same readiness as themselves, engaged as they had been for days bringing up shot, shell, and other material of war to their allies.

The next day Lord Raglan sent home a brief despatch:—

Before Sebastopol, April 7.

MY LORD,—Some interchange of troops has taken place since I addressed your lordship on the 31st ult. Battalions and considerable convoys have entered the town, and other bodies of troops have been seen to leave the north side. The garrison has been constantly engaged in adding to the works, and particularly in connecting the rifle-pits in the immediate front of our right attack; and as we have pushed forward, the fire upon our advance has occasioned more loss, I deeply regret to say, than we have sustained since the sortie of the 23rd of March. Lieutenant Bainbridge, of the Royal Engineers, was, I lament to have to add, killed on the morning of the 4th of April, while in the execution of his duty, by the bursting of a shell. He was a young officer of much promise, and, though he had not long been here, he had acquired the esteem and good opinion of his brother officers, and his loss is greatly deplored by all. I enclose the return of casualties to the 5th inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

The Lord Pannure, &c.

The convoys to which his lordship referred were immense trains of carts, loaded with provisions and various matters of utility in the defence—such as supplies of tools for the workmen, and Liege rifles with which to arm the

batteries of infantry, and the "equipages" of the navy, as the crews were called.

For the remaining days, until the bombardment, the Russians seemed to concentrate their attention on the Mamelon, which they fortified in great strength. The English brought up their fourth parallel within sixty yards of the rifle-pits; it was then intended to arm it with cohorn, to dislodge the Russian riflemen from their ambuscades. By these and by batteries they prepared to clear the whole ground in front of the Redan and the Mamelon of those "concealments."

On the night of the 8th the French lost a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, a gallant man, killed by a rifle-ball. On the morning of that day Lord Raglan received instructions from home, which it was alleged compelled him to open the bombardment sooner than his own judgment approved. He ordered the artillery to be in readiness; they remonstrated, on the reasonable ground that the notice was too short. The orders were repeated and made peremptory; and the artillery, imperfectly prepared, after all, put forth wonderful efforts for the emergency. Too much at home had been expected from the services rendered by the railway, and the government seemed strangely to overlook the paucity of numbers in their army. The mortality from sickness had, indeed, diminished to one-fifth of what it had been when it had reached its highest point, but the men were still suffering from debility, the result of loss of sleep and overwork. It was determined, however, to renew the bombardment, an account of which is reserved for another chapter. As Sir John Burgoyne, upon whom so much of the responsibility of the plan of the siege rested, had retired from the army before Sebastopol before the second bombardment, and was no longer accountable for any engineering failures or successes, this seems an appropriate place to introduce his own justification of certain matters with which he was connected, and which were the subject of comment at home. In consequence of inaccuracies in a report of his evidence before the Sebastopol Committee, he directed a letter to the *Times*, which conveys substantially his evidence, and his vindication of himself in the matters to which public reference had been made:—

Ordnance-office, Pall Mall, May 4.

"SIR,—It has been generally stated by the press that my tone of voice in giving evidence before the Sebastopol Committee was so low and indistinct, that it was difficult to catch my expressions. It may have been partly owing to this defect of mine that in one of your articles of this day I am understood to have uttered sentiments and to entertain opinions which I do not acknowledge; but as your

desire is, no doubt, to allow the utmost latitude of discussion on matters of such importance as the proceedings of the army before Sebastopol, I feel great confidence that you will admit some explanations on my part, which I will make as concise as possible. I do not wish to enter into any controversy on the subject; my only desire is to offer an explanation of some points where my meaning appears to have been misunderstood. My reason for not commencing the construction of a road during the fine weather cannot in fairness be said to have been because I was 'in hopes we should take the place at once,' when I have constantly urged before the committee, that, from the first to the last, we had no means for constructing such a road. The censures that have been passed on 'the neglect in constructing a road between Balaklava and the camp' would seem to imply that it was no very difficult matter, but I would put it to any civil engineer to calculate what would be the requisite means for such construction, in a very short time, in soil of deep clay, for a distance of seven or eight miles. It certainly was late in the season before reflection could be turned to the advantages, among other remedial measures, that would be derived from a good road, and it was undoubtedly one of the most difficult to execute. The frightful failure in the loss of transport animals was the principal source of ill convenience as regarded the hardships of the troops. Of this I would give one instance:—The very small supply of mules furnished to the engineer field service having been carefully attended to, enabled that corps, with the Sappers, to be never without full rations throughout the winter; when warm clothing was available for them, it was brought up without delay, and nothing baffled them but the conveyance of the huts (which I would submit was not the most advantageous provision, if there had been time for full consideration): that conveyance certainly exceeded the capabilities of any reasonable amount of transport. I do not think that the period of my hopes and fears about the reduction of Sebastopol is clearly understood. After the battle of the Alma, and before we reconnoitred the place, I was in great hopes, from distant observation from the sea, and from common repute of its being an open town on the south side, that it would have fallen at once; but when I saw the natural strength of the position of which the enemy could avail himself, and the nature of the localities, so well adapted to resist a *coupe de main*, and witnessed the bold countenance which the Russians put on in consequence of that advantage, and the strength of the garrison which we had good reason to suppose was in the place, I at once altered my opinion. We were then, however, engaged in a struggle from which there was no escape; it

was necessary to do something, and while we were actively engaged in carrying on our endeavours, it would have been weak to abandon hope of success. Not long after the failure of the first cannonading in producing the desired impression, I certainly began to have misgivings that we should be detained a considerable time before the place, under many disadvantages. But no change in our plans *could* take place; it was still necessary to persevere in our efforts; we had no alternative. And here I must pause in my explanations, as the proceedings were so intimately connected with those of our allies, and I cannot presume to discuss any matters to which they have been parties. I would, however, observe that it was utterly out of the question to reduce the extent of our trenches, so as to withdraw men from that work, as has been often suggested, for the purpose of making a road. It was necessary to occupy the position; had we narrowed our limits, the Russians would have advanced theirs, and the actual effect of our retreating from our advanced position would have been to bring the whole of our camp under cannonade.

"The impossibility of pausing in our progress of active measures will account for many subjects of remark in attempting what appears to have been beyond our means. I would submit, however, that the want of the road, which has been so much pressed, was not of the vital importance that has been represented. The want of food—that is, to the extent of the authorised ration—was very slight. The warm clothing was brought up by degrees—I admit, with much labour; all this would, no doubt, have been greatly alleviated by a made road, but a good supply and due maintenance of transport animals (without which the best road would have been useless) would have been of more value, and that essential want has arisen from defective equipments and organisation. If great fault is to be found, I think it should be attached to those defects. To retire to

Balaklava was utterly impossible, and the other alternative of taking the field was as impossible by the British with their very small force. Turks or other natives for work were proved to be unavailing. 500 Turkish soldiers (by far the best native labour at our disposal), under the guidance of engineer officers, were employed several days in attempts to improve the road, but they were found quite inefficient. They could make no impression on the deep compact clay of which the country was composed, and Lord Raglan at length ordered the work to be discontinued. Much censure has been cast, as I think, most unduly, upon Lord Raglan. With regard to the operations, his lordship having done me the honour to place much confidence in my opinions, I am quite willing to take as large a share of the responsibility on that head as a subordinate officer can presume to do. The faults of equipments and organisation in several essential departments could not possibly be rectified by him in the midst of his difficulties. The example of the Duke of Wellington has been quoted; but it will be observed that even his wonderful talents could only be exerted in remedying these evils at some quiet time, after his army had suffered by the evil. Every one who knows Lord Raglan intimately must be sensible of his resolution, his ability, his unceasing labour, and his most anxious feeling for the welfare of the troops. I will acknowledge that I have met with great consideration, and even personal kindness, from his lordship, for which I am deeply grateful; but, while that consideration would prevent me, under any circumstances, from joining in any direct or indirect attack upon him, I hope I may have credit for truth in declaring that neither would I enter into any praise of him on that account that I did not most conscientiously believe to be correct.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"J. F. BURGOYNE,

"*Lieutenant-general.*"

CHAPTER LXXV.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE BLACK SEA, AND THE SEA OF AZOFF, IN THE OPENING WINTER MONTHS, AND THE SPRING OF 1855.

"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness!

Some boundless contiguity of shade,

Where rumour of oppression, and deceit,

Of unsuccessful, or successful war,

Might never reach me more. My ear is pain'd,

My soul is sick with every day's report

Of wrong, and outrage, with which earth is filled.

There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart—

It does not feel for man—the natural bond

Of brotherhood is severed as the flax,

That falls asunder at the touch of fire!"

COWPER.

In entering upon the war with Russia, we were especially vainglorious of our fleets, which, up to the spring of 1855, had scarcely

effected anything that was expected of them. If it be said in reply, that they effectually blockaded the Russian ports, we affirm that

even this, which would seem to follow as a matter of course from their presence in the contested seas, was not accomplished. The trade of Russia had not materially suffered—Odessa was still a *point d'appui* for the Crimea, and the Danube was still under the control of Russian forts and gun-boats. The horrible butchery of Sinope had, in consequence of our want of maritime vigilance, an ominous effect to our disadvantage. Nothing had been attempted by our naval forces in the Sea of Azoff. In the Pacific, Russian ships eluded our cruisers, and Russian forts repulsed our squadrons. A power confessedly inferior in maritime resources and character to either of her Western enemies, kept their fleets at bay; protecting one navy safely within her belted citadels, and sinking another with her own hands, as a successful obstruction to the attack of its rivals upon the city that sheltered it. The commercial navy of England was a matter of as much pride as her military navy; what our ships could carry was almost as much a theme of boasting as what our ships could destroy. Never was boasting more foolish and empty. Our transport service was the world's wonder for its disorganisation, dirt, and delay; and the efforts of private firms, however well-directed, were abortive under the general mismanagement. There had been hardly any exception to the waste, extravagance, business incompetency, stupidity, and corruption. Never did men act a more unprincipled and reckless part than the officers, superior and subordinate, of all the civil departments of administration in the late campaigns. Dr. Hamilton, in his sermon on the Fast Day, put it admirably to his hearers when he said (we do not quote his exact words), "That we generally believed our soldiers, after a forty years' peace, would be found inefficient, while our material organisation would effect wonders; but the reverse had been the case: our army, about which there was no boasting, did everything men could do, while the departments concerning which we were so full of self-congratulation had humiliated and disgraced us." Our French neighbours were considered the first military engineers in the world; we went to school to them, literally, in such matters. The subjugation of fortresses, or the defence of them, was French work *par excellence*; yet here they also especially failed, where they were most vainglorious; and French engineering was long and ignominiously baffled before Sebastopol by the barbarians whose military science France so much despised. It is likely that no war, except the invasion of Russia by Napoleon I., and the Spanish Armada against England, had ever been undertaken with so much boasting; and never, by Providence, since the days of the destruction

of Sennacherib, was boasting more sternly rebuked, excepting in the instances already named.

Both in the Baltic and the Black Seas the incompetency of the Admiralty to direct the navies of England was signally displayed. In the beginning of 1855 the hopes of the country were considerably excited in connection with naval matters; it was believed that with the winter would terminate the inaction of the fleets, and that the year 1855 would be one of naval glory.

During the winter nothing could be effected in the Black Sea of an effective character. The first intelligence of any activity came from a Russian source, and was quoted by a French paper as follows:—"A letter dated Theodosia, the 20th of December, transmitted via Odessa, speaks of the appearance of a British steam-frigate there in the bay on the 18th ult., at eleven in the forenoon. It was doubling the cape, and steering in a northerly direction. This was the first enemy's cruiser the inhabitants had seen since the 28th of July. It was followed shortly after by a second steamer. The frigate lay to five versts off the town, probably for enabling its consort to join it. At last both were alongside of each other, and the last comer furled her sails. After remaining stationary for some time both stood towards the east, they then wore round to the left, and steered along the coast before the town. They were both three-masted screw vessels, sailing under the English flag, but the second ship was a smaller steamer than the frigate. In the latter there were twelve port-holes for guns, but half of them were closed. The smaller steamer was black, and had mortars on deck. About two o'clock they approached the batteries, but were received with a salute of solid shot, upon which they put off to sea in great haste. A little while after they came into the bay again, lay to before the batteries behind the quarantine, opened their fire, which lasted perhaps for about an hour, and then returned to the offing, where they remained in sight till it was dark. The cannonade (says the Russian writer) did us no injury whatever, although some of their shots came from 36-pounders, and others were 12-pounder shells. One bomb, weighing eighty pounds, was found near the batteries, and it had not exploded. The enemy came near us. It seemed as if he thought the town was defenceless; but, in fact, all our towns near the shore, without exception, are defended by strand batteries."

During the winter of 1854-55 it was impossible for the admirals to do more than remain in observation of the enemy's coasts and harbours; and this was often attended with great danger, in consequence of the stormy weather which prevailed. Perhaps there is no

sea so motionless and beautiful in calm weather as the Euxine, and none is buffeted more fiercely by the storm; the poet's lines to the ocean are more appropriate to it than to any other sea:—

“Yet most I love thee, when, from low brow'd eave
I watch, as sheds the moon her golden path,
That leads to heaven across thy slumbering wave;
But I abhor thee when, in senseless wrath,
Thou swallowest up the gentle and the brave,
In sight of home, and friends, that throng to save.”

The vessels which performed the duty of watching the enemy's ports were:—

SCREW STEAM-SHIPS.		Guns.
Royal Albert	121	
Agamemnon	91	
Algiers	90	
Hannibal	90	

SAILING SHIPS.		
Rodney	90	
Vengeance	90	
Bellerophon	78	
Leander	59	

SCREW STEAM-SHIPS.		
Damflask	33	
Curacoa	30	
Tribune	31	
Hightwyer	21	
Miranda	14	
Niger	14	
Swallow	9	
Curlew	9	
Arrow	4	
Beagle	4	
Lyux	4	
Snake	4	
Viper	4	
Wrangler	4	

PADDLE STEAM-SHIPS.		
Sidon	22	
Terrible	21	
Furious	16	
Valorous	16	
Cyclops	6	
Firebrand	6	
Fury	6	
Gladiator	6	
Indefatigable	6	
Sphinx	6	
Stromboli	6	
Spiteful	6	
Vesuvius	6	
Triton	3	
Caradoc	2	
Banshee	2	

AT CONSTANTINOPLE AND MALTA.

SAILING VESSELS.		Guns.
Britannia	120	
Queen	116	
Trafalgar	120	
Albion	90	
London	90	

PADDLE STEAM-SHIPS.		
Retribution	28	
Samson	6	

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The *Moniteur* contained the following notice of some of the earliest signs of any activity on the part of the navy of our ally:—“Admiral Bruat, in order to ensure an uninterrupted

supply of provisions to the French troops, has just decided that, for the future, all the stores that may be required from Constantinople shall be brought in steam vessels only. By that means there cannot well be any irregularity in the service. A little incident took place two days back in the Bay of Streletska, where provisions are frequently landed for the French army before Sebastopol. A transport vessel by some mischance went ashore within the range of the Quarantine Fort, and at once the batteries opened on her. But Admiral Bruat gave the necessary orders, and two steamers soon went in and got her off. Fortunately, notwithstanding the warm fire of the enemy, we had no one either killed or wounded. The two sorties lately made by the Russians were on the French works before Sebastopol, one in the night of the 19th of January, and the other in that of the 3rd. The allies have occupied the position of Kamara, opposite Inkerman, where the advanced guard of the corps of General Liprandi was established; these last named troops have retired to McKenzie. The service of the supplies of every kind, in provisions, clothing, camp equipage, &c., for the army, deserves notice for the activity displayed and the excellent results obtained. The following is a list of all the clothing sent which has arrived at the camp of the French troops in the East from the 20th of October to the 22nd of January:—23,562 camp blankets, 42,029 pairs of sabots, 30,720 pairs of socks, 100,000 pairs of worsted stockings, 34,400 flannel waist belts, 62,806 pairs of gaiters, 72,275 great-coats with hoods, 12,960 sheepskin coats, 84,504 pairs of worsted gloves, and 55,768 red worsted felt caps.”

It was during the inactivity of the winter that our brave sailors, and their comrades of the French navy, heard of the votes of the British houses of parliament doing honour to their courage and persistent discharge of duty. On the 6th of January Admiral Dundas received the official communications at Malta:—

Britannia, at Malta, Jan. 6.

MY LORD,—I have had the honour this day to receive your letter dated the 18th ult., transmitting the resolutions of the House of Lords expressive of the high sense it entertains of the valuable services rendered by myself and by the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet lately under my command.

Having, on the 31st ult., transferred my command to Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, I have transmitted a copy of your letter to him, and the resolutions of the House of Lords have been made known to the several officers who were serving under me.

I have also, in obedience to the order of the house, forwarded to Admiral Hamelin the resolutions, thanking that officer and the French navy for their cordial co-operation in the various services in which the combined fleet have been engaged, and as Admiral Hamelin has also transferred his command, I have sent copies to Vice-admiral Bruat for communication to the French navy.

The high honour and distinction the House of Lords has thus been pleased to confer on myself, the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet lately under my command, will be received by all with deep gratitude and respect, and I have to beg your lordship will be pleased to accept my sincere thanks for the generous terms in which you have conveyed to me the resolutions of the house.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

J. W. D. DUNDAS, *Vice-admiral*.

During the session of parliament the Speaker acquainted the house that he had received the following letters from Sir Edmund Lyons, acknowledging the vote of thanks of the house:—

Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 30.

SIR,—Having succeeded Vice-admiral Dundas in the command of this station, the honour has devolved upon me of communicating to Rear-admiral the Hon. Montagu Stopford, and to the several captains, officers, seamen, and marines in her majesty's fleet in the Black Sea, the unanimous expression of the thanks and approbation of the House of Commons for the services rendered by them during the present war, and of communicating to them, also, the unanimous acknowledgments of the distinguished valour and conduct of those who have perished in the struggle, and the deep sympathy felt for their relatives and friends. All are deeply impressed with the honour conferred upon them. All are encouraged in the performance of their duty to their queen and country, and the seamen and marines more so, I believe, than on any former occasion—for the blessing of education enables them to appreciate better than their predecessors the thanks and approbation of parliament.

I have the honour to be, sir, with the highest respect and regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

E. LYONS,

Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 30.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter which I have received from Vice-admiral Bruat, who has succeeded Admiral Hamelin in the command of the French fleet, showing how highly the French navy feel honoured and gratified by the thanks of parliament.

I have the honour to be, sir, with much respect and regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

E. LYONS,

Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

Vaisseau le Montebello, le 21 Janvier, 1855.

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,—Je transmets aujourd'hui même aux équipages de l'Escadre de la Méditerranée les remerciements publics qui leur ont été votés par les deux chambres du parlement d'Angleterre. C'est un honneur insigne et rare qui leur est décerné. Je l'accepte pour eux et pour le digne chef qui les commandait au début de cette grande expédition, comme une précieuse récompense de leurs services, comme le gage d'une alliance plus intime encore, et comme l'heureux augure de nouveaux succès.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur l'Amiral, l'assurance de ma haute considération,

BRUAT, le *Vice-amiral*,

Commandant en Chef l'Escadre de la Méditerranée.

To Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.,

Commander-in-chief, &c.

On receiving from Admiral Lyons the thanks voted by the two English houses of parliament to Admiral Hamelin and the French navy, Admiral Bruat issued the following order of the day to his squadron:—

VOL. II.

Montebello, Jan. 21.

OFFICERS AND SAILORS.—The army, by the voice of its chief, has, on more than one occasion, rendered justice to your courage and devotion. The British parliament now awards you the great and rare honour of public thanks voted unanimously by the House of Commons and House of Lords. Admiral Lyons has requested me to transmit these thanks to you, as also to Admiral Hamelin. I have accepted them for you and for the worthy chief who commanded you at the commencement of our great expedition as a precious recompence for your services, as the pledge of a still more intimate alliance, and as the happy augury of new successes. On the 15th of December, 1854, it was unanimously resolved, in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, that the thanks of both houses should be given to Admiral Hamelin and to the French navy for their cordial co-operation with the fleet of her Britannic Majesty in the transport and landing of the allied forces on the coast of the Crimea and during the siege of Sebastopol. Vice-admiral Dundas was charged to convey that resolution to them. This order is to be posted up at the batteries, and read to the crews at muster-roll.

BRUAT,

Vice-admiral, Commander-in-chief.

Although so powerful a fleet was supposed to exercise due vigilance during the winter, it was painfully obvious that proper precautions had not been taken until an advanced date in January, as the following document reveals:—

Admiralty, Jan. 22.

The following telegraphic despatch has been received from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons:—

“Being informed that considerable consignments of munitions and contraband of war have taken place from neutral ports of the Mediterranean to those of Odessa and Kertch, the admirals of the English and French squadrons have determined on establishing an effectual blockade of the principal Russian ports in the Black Sea, and to notify the strict enforcement of this blockade from the 1st of February, 1855. Steps have been taken to provide for an efficient force being, prior to that date, stationed before the principal ports which are to be blockaded, furnished with due authority for the purpose in the names of the two governments.”

In the increased activity which appeared at the British military head-quarters at the close of January, the admiral energetically co-operated, as his despatch of the 27th showed:—

Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 27.

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that since my last general letter, of the 23rd inst., the weather has been particularly fine. The health of the army has been much benefited by the change. A good deal of progress has been made in hutting the troops and distributing the clothing which has been so liberally sent out from England, so that the men express themselves as being comfortable.

2. The health of the fleet and of the Naval Brigade is excellent. The men are well supplied with fresh meat and vegetables, and also with oranges, sent from Malta by Rear-admiral Stewart.

3. The fire from the batteries of the allies has increased during the last week, and that of the enemy has not slackened. New guns have been mounted in our batteries during the last four days.

4. On the 24th inst. I passed the day at Balaklava, to superintend the service going on there, and to make inquiries and examine into matters connected with the duties of the port and the transport service. I met Lord Raglan there by appointment, and we made some arrangements which will, I trust, have a beneficial effect.

I have, &c.,

E. LYONS,

Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

D D

The services of the Naval Brigade had given great satisfaction in England, and her majesty bestowed liberal rewards, which, it may be truthfully said, gave the gallant fellows more pleasure because of the approval of their conduct thus signified by their queen and country, than from any professional benefit derived.

The following are the terms in which the intentions of her majesty, with reference to the Naval Brigade, were announced to that meritorious corps:—

Camp, Naval Brigade, Feb. 12, 1855.

It is with feelings of pride and pleasure that I communicate the following copies of letters from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Commander-in-chief, and which announce the numerous promotions the lords commissioners of the Admiralty have conferred on the officers of the Naval Brigade. I take this opportunity of thanking those officers for their gallantry and untiring energy in the execution of their duty, and I feel certain that in congratulating them (to use the words of the commander-in-chief) on their richly-deserved promotions, their good fortune will be considered by the remaining officers and seamen as a proof of the deep interest taken in our conduct and success by our gallant commander-in-chief, and that it will excite them to increased exertions and zeal in her majesty's service, with the certainty of meeting their due reward from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. The senior officers are also requested to take this opportunity of pointing out to the crews of their respective ships the deep interest taken in their welfare by the commander-in-chief, as well as by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and also by our gracious sovereign Queen Victoria. Her majesty has conferred a medal on every sailor landed in the Crimea, and a clasp for such as were present on the 5th of November, 1854, whose conduct shall have been good; and has, in like manner, conferred a medal and clasps upon the nearest relative or representative of such as may have fallen. The lords commissioners of the Admiralty have granted extra pay to all petty officers and seamen of the brigade, as well as a liberal supply of warm clothing (gratis), as already communicated to them, and the commander-in-chief has further notified that the services of the petty officers and seamen are duly appreciated by the Admiralty, and will meet with further reward. I consider this a fitting opportunity of also pointing out to the brigade the deep sympathy felt for our privation and services by our countrymen and women, who have made private subscriptions for the use of the brigade, such as warm clothing and other comforts, as their means permitted.

STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,

Captain commanding Naval Brigade.

To the Officers of the Naval Brigade.

(MEMORANDUM.)

Agamemnon, Sebastopol, Feb. 12, 1855.

It is with no small feelings of gratification that I enclose for your information a copy of a letter addressed to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and of the reply thereto which I have just received, and I request that you will convey to the officers of the Royal Naval Brigade my sincere congratulations on the promotions they have so richly deserved:—

“Your own meritorious services, as well as those of the captains under your immediate command, will no doubt receive their due reward, and I request you will inform the petty officers and seamen that their services are duly appreciated by the Admiralty, and will also meet with their reward.”

E. LYONS,

Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

*To Captain Lushington,
commanding the Naval Brigade.*

The following accompanied a return of officers who had been or were then employed with the army in the Crimea:—

Agamemnon—off Sebastopol.

SIR,—In compliance with the directions contained in your letter of the 15th ult., I beg leave to transmit, to be laid before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a list of all officers who have been or are now employed on shore with the army before Sebastopol, showing the period they have been so employed.

2. As I could hardly consider myself in a position to make observations as to the merits of each officer, I directed Captain Lushington, who has commanded the brigade ever since its formation, to do so, and their lordships will observe that the remarks against each name are made by him; but I may be permitted to say that the zeal, efficiency and gallantry of the Naval Brigade have been the theme of universal admiration. Nor have they been less conspicuous for the manly and cheerful manner in which they have borne up against the sickness, exposure, and privations incidental to a life in camp at this season.

3. Vice-admiral Dundas has no doubt brought the indefatigable exertions of the commandant of the brigade, Captain Lushington, the chivalrous gallantry and zeal of Captain Peel, and the well-known merits of that talented officer, Captain Moorsom, under their lordships' favourable notice, and I would beg leave to call their attention to the fact that commanders Burnett, of the *Queen*, and Hillyar, of the *Agamemnon*, have been with the brigade during the whole period, upwards of three months, during which time they may be said to have been continually under fire. Commander Borlase's meritorious conduct at the battle of Inkerman has been specially reported to their lordships. Commander Lord John Hay rejoins the brigade, where his valuable services and inspired bearing are highly appreciated.

4. Many of the lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen, as well as lieutenants of Royal Marine Artillery and medical officers, have been with the brigade from the first, but Captain Lushington's remarks are so explicit that their lordships will have no difficulty of judging of the merits of every officer of each class; and I will only add that those who have been wounded bear a high character in their profession, and that no set of officers ever deserved their lordships' liberal considerations more than those who have served in the Royal Naval Brigade before Sebastopol.

I am, sir, &c.,

E. LYONS,

Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

The Secretary of the Admiralty, London.

The blockade of the Danube was soon raised, nor was a very close blockade kept up anywhere in these seas up to the period of which we write:—

Foreign Office, March 10.

It is hereby notified that the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, K.G., her majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has received a despatch from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., commanding her majesty's naval forces in the Black Sea, dated *Royal Albert*, off Sebastopol, 20th of February, 1855, and addressed to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, announcing that, in conjunction with Vice-admiral Bruat, commanding the French squadron in the Black Sea, he had, on and from the 18th of February last, raised the blockade of the Danube, which was established on and from the 1st day of June, 1854, and which was notified in the *London Gazette* of the 13th of June, 1854, and which has since been duly maintained.

It is hereby notified that the cruisers of the allied fleets are, and will remain, stationed off the mouths of the Danube to capture any vessels laden with contraband of war destined for the use of the enemy.

On the 11th of February a very general blockade of Russian ports was declared:—

Foreign Office, March 3, 1855.

It is hereby notified that official information has been received from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., commanding her majesty's naval forces in the Black Sea, dated H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, off Sebastopol, February 11, 1855, that from the 1st of February last, "the mouth of the River Dniester, the Ports of Akerman, Ovidiopol, Odessa, all the ports situated between Ochakoff Point and Kinburn Point, including the Ports of Nicolaïeff and Cherson, the Rivers Bug and Dnieper; also the ports between Kinburn Point and Cape Tarkan, including the ports in the Gulf of Perekop, the Port of Sebastopol, the ports comprised between Cape Aia and the Strait of Kertch, including those of Yalta, Aloushta, Soudak, Kaffa, or Theodosia. The Port of Kertch, the Strait of Kertch, the entrance to and all the ports in the Sea of Azoff, including especially the ports of Berdiansk, Taganrog, and Arabat; the River Don, and also the ports of Anapa and Soujak, were strictly blockaded by a competent force of the allied fleets of France and England. That the ports of Eupatoria, Streltzka, Kamiesch, Kozatch, and Balaklava were, and are, and will remain open and free from all blockade until further notice; and it is hereby further notified, that all measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade."

Soon after the declaration of blockade the allied admirals prepared for operations in the Sea of Azoff. Before noticing these proceedings it is necessary to give some account of this sea. It is connected with the Black Sea by the Strait of Kertch, formerly called the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from which, to the Biéloscrai Spit, at the entrance of the Gulf of Azoff, into which the river Don falls, is more than ninety miles; from the entrance of the Gulf the sea reaches still farther about two-thirds of that distance; the whole extent from south to north being about 150 miles. From east to west, taken from Bieshtskoi Liman to Genitschi, the distance is not much less. The eastern shores are flat, and broken by lagoons; the western, or European coast, is formed by "the Spit of Arabat"—a long narrow neck of land which separates the Sea of Azoff from the inland waters called the Putrid Sea. The northern shores are broken into bays, which have narrow entrances, in consequence of currents caused by the waters of the Don driving sand across their mouths; the ground is sometimes elevated on this side, but never bold or picturesque. The southern boundaries are—the Strait of Kertch, by which this sea communicates with the Euxine, and on the European side of that strait the peninsula of Kertch—on the Asiatic side the peninsula of Taman. The depth of its waters is at most fifty feet, and shoals skirt nearly the whole line of coast: its waters sink every year, rendering communication with the coasts by ships more and more difficult. The Putrid Sea, or "the Sivash," enters the Sea of Azoff at the Strait of Genitschi (or Yenitchi). On the shores of this sea are several considerable towns, and all around corn is produced in

large quantities, constituting them the granaries of Southern Russia. Much blame was cast upon the fleet in England for not sooner penetrating that sea, and cutting off the supplies which the enemy derived thence, and which, obtaining from the Don, he husbanded on the European shores of Azoff, and near the Putrid Sea. There were, however, difficulties which were not understood then at home. Independent of the shallow waters along shore, and the want of gun-boats in the fleets during the autumn of 1854, which would have rendered operations within the sea difficult at any time, the Russians had obstructed the passage of the strait, as they did the entrance to Sebastopol, by sinking a double line of ships. During the winter that sea is entirely frozen over, so that large bodies of men may pass across the Strait of Kertch. As soon as the ice breaks up, a current gradually sets towards the Black Sea; and when later the Gulf of Azoff yields to the increasing temperature, and the Don is free, a powerful rush of waters bursts forth through the strait into the Euxine. Such was the case in 1855, as at other times; and so powerfully did the waters flood through the strait, that the sunken ships were swept into deep water, and before the Russians could sink others, the allied fleets entered and began their operations, which, during the summer, were attended with such important results.

There was a very general opinion in the English fleet that the Sea of Azoff was deeper, and that larger craft could approach its shores, than was the case. Several authorities represent the Spit of Arabat as being without wells, and the sea as affording fresh-water on the surface in the vicinity of the spit. The sea, all along the spit, from Genitschi to point Kayantis, is perfectly saline; there are wells of fresh-water, but frequently brackish, at the spots marked in the Russian maps, and in Wyld's map of the Sea of Azoff. The only parts of that sea where fresh-water is procurable is in the Gulf of Azoff, and there not until after passing the Crooked Spit (or Krivia), in the upper part of the Oukliant Liman, and at the edge of the Delta of the river Cuban in some places. The general impression in the English navy, that there was a nine feet channel from Tchongar Bridge to Genitschi, and a constant current running from Genitschi to Perekop, was thus confuted by Captain Sherrard Osborn, R.N. :—

"1. If such a channel exists, why did not the Russians convey the provisions, corn and store lighters, which we found them unloading at Genitschi, up to the bridge, instead of disembarking the stores, and using waggons and arabas to convey them by land over that very bridge by a road which nearly doubled the distance? To get those lighters and small craft into Genitschi harbour they had to pass a bar,

whereon was never found more than 6½ ft. and often as little as 4 ft. 6 in. When that difficulty was surmounted, surely ascending a 9 ft. channel would have been easy work.

"2. I, with two intelligent officers and eight seamen, spent two days and nights trying to find a channel out of the wide marshes, improperly marked Putrid Sea, into the narrow part over which the bridge of Tchongar is thrown. We landed on the Tchongar peninsula, and stood within a few feet of their road; yet the deepest water we ever found in any part of that sea was 4 ft. 6 in., and for miles it was quite as much as we could do to get our light boats through sea-weed and slime. I believe there is 7 ft. or 9 ft. of water under the centre of the bridge, but there is either a bar or a most tortuous channel between it and Genitschi. That there is a space of water between the peninsular of Tchongar (at its northern part), and a point three miles west of Genitschi, few who have looked at it from a ship's masthead can doubt; and, indeed, we often saw Russian boats traversing it. With respect to the current always setting into the Sivash or Putrid Sea, we found it vary very much, and depend mainly upon the direction of the wind. An east wind would cause the water to flow into it from the Sea of Azoff, and raise the depth about two feet upon the bar; whereas with the lightest air from the westward, the current immediately turned and the waters fell.

"In the southern part of the Sivash, the wind, blowing from eastward, heaped the water up as it were on the western shore, and *vice versa*, the difference of depth at such times between the two coasts being, according to Tartar accounts, nearly two feet—a point difficult to determine, for the bottom of the Sivash slopes very gradually towards the centre; although, as your correspondent observes, the Crimean coast is everywhere abrupt, being indeed, the vertical edge of a steppe."

The first act of any importance on the part of the fleet was the blockade of Kertch, and the annoyance of the enemy there, in various ways calculated to harass and alarm. On the 22nd, the French vessel *Fulton* proceeded to the Bay of Kaffa, on the European shore of the Black Sea, near the strait; while Capt. Giffard, in H.M.S. *Leopard*, proceeded to the Asiatic coast of that sea, also near the strait. As the captain sailed thither, he observed large bodies of troops passing from Anapa to Taman. He steamed in, anchoring in 4½ fathoms water, and opened fire upon them, compelling them to deviate from their course. The enemy returned, bringing fieldpieces to bear upon the ships and boats. Being joined by the *Fulton*, both vessels opened fire upon the Russian troops, silencing the fieldpieces, and sending

destructive charges of shell among the Cossacks. A division of boats, under Lieutenant Graham, landed their crews; and, after examining the place, and finding stores and barracks in a dilapidated condition, and guns and munitions which were intended to be landed by the enemy at Kertch, the lieutenant set about the removal of such as might be taken away, and the destruction of the remaining stores with the buildings. A sudden snow-storm rendered it impossible to execute this work, and unsafe for the boats' crews to remain on shore; Captain Giffard accordingly recalled them. The British and French commanders hovered about the place, vigilantly watching it; and, on the 24th, both the *Leopard* and *Fulton* rode in and shelled the enemy, who, although mustering 500 men, fled precipitately, without offering any resistance. They returned, however, as before, and placed field-batteries in commanding and well chosen positions, which threw an incessant discharge of shot against ships and boats. As their fire became somewhat formidable, they advanced their pieces, but the *Fulton* twice drove them from their positions, and the *Leopard* compelled them to abandon the most distant post from which their fire could be effective. The boats' crews then landed, and the place was soon in conflagration, by which seven large boats for carrying troops, two ranges of barracks, a provision store, and a small magazine were consumed, and ten new 50 cwt. 6-inch guns were captured. Not a man was lost by either ship, nor did they receive any damage, nor their boats, except the *Fulton*, which received a shot in her hull. The Cossacks literally fell in groups as they pushed down their fieldpieces, and as they retired from their advanced positions. It was a gallant little action, creditable to the sea-service of both the allied nations, and exceedingly useful in destroying the enemy's resources, interrupting his communications, and depressing his self-reliance. Sir Edmund Lyons, in sending home the report of Captain Giffard, highly complimented him, but not more than his skill and promptitude of action merited.

Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, Feb. 27.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 20th inst., reporting the highly creditable proceedings of the blockading squadron off Kertch, under the command of Captain Giffard, of H.M.S. *Leopard*,

1. I have now the honour to enclose copies of two letters which I have received from that active and intelligent officer, reporting his further proceedings; and of his having, in conjunction with H.M.'s steamer *Fulton*, captured and destroyed ten 50 cwt. 6-inch guns, and burnt seven large boats, two ranges of barrack buildings, also a quantity of military stores and provisions, near Boghaz, on the Cuban Lake, on the 22nd inst. And I beg leave to call their lordships' particular attention to the fact, that this gallant service was performed during weather which must have rendered its accomplishment exceedingly difficult; and that Vice-admiral Bruat and I consider that it reflects the highest credit on Captain

Giffard, Captain Lebris, of the *Fulton*, and on the officers and men of both nations employed on the occasion.

2. The enemy appears to have lost a considerable number of men on the occasion, whereas no casualties have occurred on our side.

I have, &c., E. LYONS,
Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Inclosure reporting the capture of enemy's guns, and destruction of military stores.

Leopard—off Kertch, Feb. 25.

SIR.—I have the honour to inform you that on the 22d inst. H.I.M.'s ship *Fulton*, having gone to Kaffa to reconnoitre, I proceeded towards Anapa in H.M.S. *Leopard*, but on passing the Bosphaz of the Cuban Lake, we observed numbers of troops crossing the passage in boats from Anapa to Taman, so I ran in, and anchored off the passage in $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. The troops had landed, but we opened fire on them, and drove them to the hills. I sent a division of boats, under Lieutenant Graham, to examine the buildings on the points, which proved to be guardhouses, barracks, storehouses, and stables, some of which were burnt, but, a heavy snowstorm coming on, I recalled the boats. Lieutenant Graham reporting he had seen some guns and other military stores, which he had not time to destroy, and which the enemy were transporting from Anapa to Kertch, I again proceeded there on the 24th inst., in company with the *Fulton*. A few rounds of shot and shell drove the Cossacks and other troops, 400 or 500 in number, to the hills; when the boats under Lieutenant Graham landed, and M. Lebris, in the *Fulton*, took up a position to the north-west, to check the advance of the enemy, who soon after brought some field-batteries on the hills, and opened a heavy fire of shot and shell upon the ships and boats. The very accurate fire of the *Fulton* drove them from two positions, and the *Leopard's* shell from a third, after which they retreated behind the hills. After three hours' work the boats returned, having captured and destroyed ten new and handsome 50 cwt. 6-inch guns, and burnt seven large boats, two ranges of barracks and buildings, also a quantity of military stores and provisions. The *Fulton* received one shot in her hull, but I am happy to say no casualties occurred. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable.

I have, &c.,

GEORGE GIFFARD, Captain.

Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.

The squadron of British and French vessels cruising off Kertch made various little expeditions during March against the establishments on the adjoining coasts. Some of these might appear to be of no importance—so few casualties occurred, and the places attacked being so small; but in the aggregate there was a large amount of property destroyed—corn, ammunition, wood, fuel, naval and military materiel, and some fine pieces of ordnance. As an instance of these destructive attacks on a small scale, the demolition of the tower at Djimieta may be given. Lieutenant Armytage, of the *Viper* steamer, having on the early morning of the 8th March examined the mouth of the Cuban Lake, dispersed a small force of Cossacks—his shells falling among them, causing a considerable loss of men and horses. Proceeding to the south-east he took a Russian coaster, freighted with charred timber, corn, and various articles of less value. After a few hours' sailing he came opposite the tower, and, anchoring bow and stern 500 yards from shore, opened fire, killing or dispersing the few men who constituted the garrison, and destroying the

martello tower itself, without losing a man or receiving any damage to the ship. Near this were many valuable buildings, a barrack, store, and granaries, to the whole of which the boats' crews of the *Viper* set fire. Lieutenant Armytage's own report, to Admiral Lyons, of this promptly accomplished affair, was as follows:—

Viper—off Kertch, March 8.

I HAVE the honour to report, that I left this anchorage at 5.30 this morning, for the purpose of examining the mouth of the Cuban Lake. I arrived off there at nine, and observing a small force of Cossacks on the north spit, opened fire and dispersed them; then examined the lake in the whale-boat of this ship, but observing nothing of consequence, proceeded along the coast to the south-eastward. I had just previously taken possession of a small vessel laden with charcoal and other goods, which I have brought in with me, with three prisoners on board. I enclose you her papers, &c., as they may be useful to his excellency the commander-in-chief, and request your directions in reference to the prisoners. At 1.50 p.m. I arrived off the martello tower, at Djimieta, anchoring bow and stern at a distance of 500 yards from the beach, and at 2 p.m. opened fire upon the fort, dispersing the few Cossacks that remained. It is now my pleasing duty to inform you that I have effectually destroyed the fort, barracks, and granaries (having set fire to the latter), spiked and disabled the two guns, destroying the ammunition; and all, I am happy to say, without any casualty on board the *Viper*. I beg to bring under your notice the conduct of Mr. James Roche, second master, who commanded the landing parties; and Mr. R. Moss, master's assistant, who aided him in destroying the guns; both having performed their duty much to my satisfaction.

WM. ARMYTAGE, Lieutenant and Commander.

Captain Giffard, who commanded the little squadron before Kertch, maintained incessant activity in annoying the enemy by attacks similar to that so well executed by Lieutenant Armytage. Reconnoitring in the neighbourhood of Soujak Kaleh, with the greater part of his squadron, he received a request from the Circassians (we employ the term generically) to attack the place, as many men and guns had been withdrawn to meet the wants of the Russians elsewhere. The captain eagerly assented to the proposal, the Circassians promising, at the same time, an attack by land. These warriors, generally so valiant, did not, however, make their appearance when the time for action came. The captain shelled the place at a distance of 1000 yards, and having driven out the garrison and dismounted some of the guns, without obtaining the co-operation of the mountaineers, sheered off. It does not appear that very much mischief was done to Soujak Kaleh; some little was done to the squadron. Admiral Lyons, who possessed the art of investing with interest, in his despatches, even the most trivial incident, thus communicated his view of the matter to the authorities at the Admiralty:—

Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, March 17.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter which has been addressed to me by Captain Giffard, stating, that while making a reconnaissance near Soujak Kaleh, with her majesty's ship *Leopard*, under his command, and accompanied by her majesty's ships *Highflyer*, *Swallow*,

and *Viper*, and also by his imperial majesty's steam-ship of war, *Fulton*, he was informed by the Circassians in the neighbourhood, that the enemy had so reduced the strength of that fortress by the removal of men and guns to Anapa, that they were ready to attack it by land if he would do so by sea; and that he, wishing to encourage the natives, and to embarrass the Russians, had assented to the proposal, and moved the ships to within 1000 yards of the south face of the fort, where he performed his part; but that, on finding the Circassians did not perform theirs, he withdrew, after having driven all the garrison out of the place, with the exception of a few gunners in the earthen batteries, and having also dismounted several guns, and done considerable damage to the arsenal and public works, leaving the garrison, about a mile from the place, surrounded by Circassians, who were collecting reinforcements. The ships appear to have been well placed, and to have fired with great effect; and Captain Giffard expresses his thanks to Captain Lebris, his able coadjutor on former occasions, as well as to Captain Moore, Commander Crauford, and Lieutenant Armytage, and their respective officers and ships' companies, for their support. Of Captain Giffard himself, I may perhaps be permitted to observe, that this is not the first time that his zeal and gallantry have been conspicuous since he has been under my command.

I am, &c.,

E. LYONS.

Captain Giffard's own report to the admiral is less highly coloured:—

Leopard, Soujak Bay, March 13.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that, from the information I had received from the Circassians, at Ghe-lenjik, and also from the observations of M. Lebris, of his imperial majesty's steam-vessel *Fulton*, as well as my own, on the 6th inst., in Soujak Bay, I was led to believe the Russians had sent many guns, stores, &c., away from that fort, and would probably leave if a force appeared off it. Wishing to have more certain information for you on my return to your flag, I, on the evening of the 11th inst., when the *Highflyer* joined me, proceeded with the *Sealow* and *Viper* to Soujak Bay, where we anchored on the morning of the 12th; but a fresh gale, with a heavy swell, prevented our closing the batteries. I therefore threw some shells into the place; and the Circassians, who soon appeared in numbers, at the same time attacked the small fort at the head of the bay, opposite the town, drove out the garrison, and burnt it at 8 A.M. This morning the Circassians informed me they had a sufficient force, and would attack Soujak Kaleb by land if I would do so by sea, and, wishing to encourage them and

embarrass the enemy, I immediately moved the squadron to within 1000 yards of the south face, and opened fire on it. From this point the enemy only had ten guns to bear on the ships, but the light wind and damp weather made the smoke hang over and conceal them from our fire, while our masts above were conspicuous to them. We soon drove all the inhabitants and troops out of the place, except those in the earthen batteries, but I was much disappointed to find that the Circassians did not advance to attack them when out of the town, as they had promised. I therefore moved out again, as with our small force of men it would have been too great a risk to land, the main body of the garrison being close at hand. The arsenal and public buildings are much injured, and several of the guns were silenced and dismounted. Our loss, I am happy to say, has been small, and some injury has been done to the masts and hulls of the ships.

I was much pleased with the able way in which all the ships took up their assigned positions, and have to thank M. Lebris, of the *Fulton*, Captain Moore, Commander Crauford, and Lieutenant Armytage, commanding the *Viper*, for their able support, as well as all the officers and men.

The Russian force, apparently 1500 or 2000 men, and the other inhabitants, are now encamped about a mile north of the town, having left a few men in the batteries. They will have great difficulty in communicating with Anapa, being surrounded by the Circassians (who were collecting reinforcements), and should they return to the town, a small naval force can at any time drive them out again.

I enclose a list of casualties among the ships.

I have, &c.,

GEORGE GIFFARD, Captain.

Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.

The operations of the vessels thus cruising about the Russian coasts were of a similar character, but still less important, until the first expedition to Kertch, which was dispatched early in May, only to be inopportunately recalled. The circumstances attending it had much to do with the resignation of General Canrobert as commander-in-chief of the French armies in the East. The events connected with the Kertch expeditions were so important in themselves, and their direct and indirect consequences involved so much, that their narrative must be reserved for separate chapters.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

HOME IN THE SPRING MONTHS OF 1855.

“Who will go about
To eizen fortune, and be honourable
Without the stamp of merit? Let none presume
To wear an undeserved dignity.
Oh that estates, degrees, and offices
Were not derived corruptly; and that clear honour
Should be purchased by the merit of the wearer!
How many then should cover that now stand bare!
How many be commanded that now command!”—SHAKSPEARE.

AFTER the death of the Emperor Nicholas, speculation became rife everywhere, not only as to the policy of Russia, but as to the policy of the nations allied against her. Turkey was represented to be tired of the war, suffering much from the drain of her resources, and not over confident in the zeal or sincerity of her allies. The French emperor was declared to

be warlike exceedingly, but that his people had very little taste for an alliance with England against Russia, especially where it involved such sacrifices as were demanded. The warlike manifestoes of the new czar were not supposed to be correct indices of his policy, and it was alleged that no inference concerning the real intentions of anything said or done by the

Russian government could be safely drawn, even by the keenest statesman; that the issue of the Vienna conference could alone reveal whether the future should be brightened by the halo of peace, or darkened by the frowns of war. Opinion in England was very much determined by the views taken of the premier. By one set of politicians he was represented as so bellicose that he was resolved to exact terms from Russia, at Vienna, which she could never concede while a man or a rouble remained; by another class he was described as at heart sympathising so much with all despotic governments, that he would accept a peace if only some specious appearances of concession were made.

His lordship's real leanings were liberal, but not so liberal as many supposed. He was always hindered by party ties, and incapables, in the cabinets of which he was a member, when advocating liberal measures; but his own bearings were aristocratic, and provided England's interests and honour were safe, he would take very little exception to the political pécadilloes, or crimes, of foreign tyrants. No one wished to see him play the knight-errant, and treat liberty as the knight-errants treated their lady-loves—going about in quest of any who would not do her homage, and challenging them to deadly combat; but if that balance of power of which he spoke so much during the session, to the advantage of Austria, were of any importance, England could never look upon the demolition of the independent governments of free nations, by the inroads of despotic states, without alarm for her own safety. To interfere with the governments of other nations is impolitic and wrong, but when a constitutional state is attacked by a despotic nation because of its constitutionalism, it is an attack upon our own liberties. It is a bold proclamation to us that we, in our turn, shall be attacked whenever the game has a chance to be played and won. In many cases, of late years, the moral influence of England would have saved the freedom of oppressed countries, but it was not exerted. In this respect the government of Sir Robert Peel was a disaster to the nation; and the diplomacy of his foreign minister, Lord Aberdeen, so timid, time-serving, and truculent, that it is a matter of amazement how any free people should have been content to see him at the head of affairs. But Lord Palmerston was far from blameless; he certainly did espouse the principle that England ought to interpose in favour of constitutionalism, and the independence of independent states; but he was very easily satisfied with the amount of popular liberty to be conferred. Spain and Portugal bear witness against him in that. Still, his mere recognition of the principle brought him

vast political opposition at home. The high tory party ran him down for it as an incendiary; the Quakers attacked him as the very incarnation of the war spirit; the Manchester school denounced him as dangerous, because they require a peace-at-all-price policy, in order to secure cheap provisions and cheap labour, the two grand essentials of the cotton manufacture; the court was jealous of him, as our foreign cousins had no objection to try a little despotism on their own account; and thus the fair development of his political views, and the free action of his comprehensive foreign policy never had fair play. This admission is due in Lord Palmerston's behalf, whatever his shortcomings, or even his sins.

While the opposition offered to his lordship's government at this juncture was pertinacious and petulant in some directions, the country, as a whole, offered him a hearty support, and events soon proved that he deserved it. He watched the proceedings of Russia alike on the field of war and in the circles of diplomacy, and confirmed his great reputation for vigilance and energy. The most persevering of Lord Palmerston's antagonists were the peace party, aided by a powerful and numerous section of the Manchester school. Hired lecturers, some of them most eloquent and popular men, perambulated the country, calling public meetings and urging the people, for the sake of religion, and as they valued plenty to the people of these realms, to insist upon a peace being concluded at the Vienna conference. The common text of all these lecturers, and of a class of writers also hired to support this cause, was "Mind your own affairs, and let others alone." It would be impossible for any English government to adopt such a policy for their motto; and much as Lord Palmerston felt the pressure of the agitation of this party, he persevered in his energetic proceedings. It is very essential to the future honour and welfare of the country, that while peace should be followed for its own sake, and the Christian duty to seek it, which men and nations ought alike to cherish, should be conscientiously cultivated, yet the necessity of answering force by force, where moral suasion fails, should be clearly understood. The foreign interests of England are at all times—in peace or war—too comprehensive for peace not to be prized, and its disturbance provided against. So ramified are our political and commercial relations with the political and material condition of all nations, that there can scarcely be a hubbub of any kind, from an *émeute* in Paris, or street fight in Barcelona, to a regicide in Central Asia, or a piracy among the Malays, that does not somehow affect us. It is very easy for certain gentlemen in and out of parliament to say, that "we should mind our own affairs,

and let other people alone;" but they will not let *us* alone, and we cannot, however so inclined, shift off the connection. If a madman were dancing round his own haystack with a lighted torch in his hand, and if his stack-yard were adjoining ours, it would be very difficult to bring ourselves to the belief that we either ought or could "let him alone." We should at all events be under great temptation to plead the contiguity of our ricks to his, as a reason for putting out his brand, civilly if he would allow, roughly if he would not. We can no more be indifferent to the proceedings of neighbouring nations, in their convulsions or their infringements of one another's rights, than we could be to the freaks of an insane, or the malice of an incendiary, neighbour. Whether he were a lunatic, or had a pyrotechnical taste on a large scale, would not affect our view of policy and prerogative in *not* letting him alone. To this sort of argument the spirit of the replies made by the lecturers and writers before referred to was after this sort:—"Yes, but we English are not content with looking after our neighbours! In Burmah or Bushire, among the dark denizens of the banks of the Orange River at the Cape, or among the companions of Kangaroos in Australia—on the shores of the Don, or among the defiles of Afghanistan or Peshawur—it is all the same; we are everywhere, and everywhere telling the people about British interests, and persuading them or beating them into the idea that we are a great nation, and are considerably engaged in looking after their welfare." Our replication to all this is—that it is very difficult for us to go anywhere without finding some next-door neighbour to our own colonists. Putting western and northern Europe out of view, which are the vicinities to our own isles, we have made in our past proceedings homes by commerce or conquest nearly all the world over. Those who hold Malta and Corfu are near neighbours to Italy, and to Austria as an Italian power. Gibraltar gives us a position in Spain, and a vicinage to northern Africa. The protectorate of the Ionian Isles brings us into an intimate contiguity to the unreasonable King of Greece, and his amiable antagonist, the sultan. Hapening to have a bit of property at Bombay, and an out-house at Aden, at the head of the Persian Gulf, we are in a certain neighbourly relation to Egypt and Persia. Bengal and Hongkong are places from which to take a friendly run into China now and then. And how could we possess the Sikh territory and Seinde without such Asiatic relationships in general, as involve a great many amiable talks with the people about their own affairs and ours? The larger part of the northern portion of the American continent belongs to us—and our

neighbours in these regions will hardly pretend that they have to protect themselves against any filibustering propensities on our part. It has been said, in reply to remarks of this description, that the English had no right originally to be in all these places; the rejoinder is, that a nation of shopkeepers are always on the look out for customers. It may be laid to our charge that we are "queer customers," and went as often to take as to sell: we must answer, "Very likely;" there is much of that sort to be said truly to our disadvantage; but it is a matter of fact that we are in all these out of the way places: and it is a fact not less obvious, that, if the nation became ever so penitent, it would be very hard to ascertain now, to whom we should make restitution—at all events, in a great majority of cases. Continents and islands, swamps like British Guinea, and rocks like Gibraltar, the snow-fields of Northern America, the gold-fields of Australia—all have had something inviting for us—and *there we are*. What is to be done? Will our excellent friends of the Peace Society pass a resolution that we are to gather up our effects, and bring these and our people home, from beneath all constellations—those who wear the southern cross, and those who dwell beneath the polar star? Or shall we keep our footing, and behave ourselves well where we keep it? If the former be "the resolution passed," we wash our hands of its advocacy, as too difficult for us; we could offer no advice upon so stupendous an undertaking. It would require the administrative genius for spoiling everything, frustrating everything not spoiled, and confusing everything neither spoiled nor frustrated, which so eminently characterised in this war our Lord of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and their doctors and officials in the East, to venture upon the task with any tolerable appearance of self-sufficiency. If, however, our peace brethren, and their energetic coadjutors in Lancashire, deem that we are to make the best case we can of our position in every land, then they who offer this advice must be prepared for a great deal of discussion with all who hold contiguous positions. However enlightened are our ideas of *meum* and *tuum*, past, present, and to come, many exceptions will be taken, and many strange grounds will be laid down on which to take them, by various descript and non-descript neighbours of ours in all directions. There are Caffres, Hottentots, Bosjemen, Bechuanas, Fingoes, and Boers; Sikhs, Burmese, Afghans, Nepaulese, Beloochees, Cashmerians, and legions of Asiatic nations, white, black, and every shade between! Our Australian bushmen, and gold-diggers; the sons of the flowery land on our Indian confines, &c. &c. &c.! All these peoples have

notions and modes of discussion if not very original, yet very discordant with any that are entertained by our justly esteemed brethren, the benevolent Society of Friends. We are afraid that the neighbours—European, African, or Asiatic—of our possessions in the Mediterranean, have ideas upon which no logical impression is ever made with such celerity as when a British admiral carries on the discussion from “the point of view” (as the phrase of the day is) of a British fleet. In fact, it is the knowledge, somehow very intimately acquired by most nations, that we have usually dealt in heavier arguments than “notes” and “protocols,” which gives them such a facility of conviction when our envoys do reason with them. The justice of our cause is not the first thing that strikes the litigants in cases of quarrel with us, but the mode by which we erst were in the habit of enforcing it. It is perfectly plain to any one, “with a head” (as the Bechuanas say), that along the vast boundaries of an empire so diversified—in the multitudinous parts of a commerce so extensive—in the vexed complications of alliances and treaties which we are bound to keep and to enforce, in the result of so ancient and glorious a history, we cannot “let everybody alone;” and that our policy is to busy ourselves wisely, enforcing all just claims with promptitude, and listening to all just demands with moderation. The danger of indifference to what occurs on our frontiers, or to our allies, is at least as perilous as unnecessary meddling: the latter may put us to expense and trouble, and involve us even in war; the former will shake our credit, dispel the prestige of our power, and invite enemies to coalesce, and overreach or menace us, in proportion to the *laissez faire* of our policy.

In both houses of parliament incessant and often ungenerous attacks were made by the Derby party; and frequently independent members brought damaging statements and arguments to bear upon the government, both from the ministerial and opposition benches. Mr Layard was, perhaps, the most formidable antagonist the government had; he knew many of the events of the war from personal observation, and he was well acquainted with the East, its habits, character, wants, and prospects. The Peelites were very bitter against this honourable member, as his speeches had contributed so much to break up the Aberdeen government.

The death of Captain Christie (to which in another chapter reference has been made) led to a discussion of great importance in the house, as disclosing the injustice to which faithful servants were subjected unless surrounded by powerful interest, whenever the sinister interests of party require, or appear to require,

their sacrifice; the debate also showed the acrimony with which independent members of parliament were pursued, who complained of the conduct of the war; and the utter want of principle and honour which characterised the artifices and parliamentary tactics of men who had held high offices, and claimed to be the rulers of the nation. A general attack against Mr. Layard seemed to have been contrived for the purpose of extinguishing his public usefulness, or of at least deterring him from proceeding in his intrepid course of parliamentary opposition to the maladministration of all the war departments. So general was the “cry down” in the house, that Sir James Graham was emboldened to make one of his rash and enterprising speeches, such as had so often embarrassed the parties to which he had belonged on either side of the house. He resolved upon giving the *coup-de-grâce* to his formidable antagonist, especially as the rules of the house would not allow Mr. Layard then to rebut the statement which he intended to make. This was no other than a direct charge that the death of Captain Christie was hastened, if not occasioned, by charges alleged against him by Mr. Layard, and which constituted the ground of the court-martial ordered to be held upon his conduct, which circumstance broke Captain Christie’s heart. We have no doubt that Sir James Graham’s intention was that this error—for such it proved to be—should go forth to the country, and make its full damaging effect upon Mr. Layard’s character, before this gentleman could have an opportunity of rebutting it in the place where it was uttered. With all the sly sophistry with which the Cumberland baronet is accustomed to “make the worse appear the better cause,” he displayed the deepest sympathy for Captain Christie, and dwelt much upon the rankling and incurable wound inflicted upon him by Mr. Layard’s “charges,” which, he repeatedly asserted, had produced the court-martial,—winding up the pathetic appeal by declaring that he did not envy Mr. Layard his feelings in having been instrumental in hastening the death of an innocent and deserving officer. The old proverb declares that “one story is good until another is told;” and so it turned out in this case. The “thing which was not,” as they say in Turkey, so pathetically proclaimed by Sir James Graham, was not long allowed to remain unanswered and disproved; Mr. Layard did not, it is true (and we think he acted with both judgment and spirit), attempt to set himself right with the public by an explanation in the assembly in which the charge was made, and where probably he would have been hooted down and silenced, as had been attempted on two previous occasions. He took the more sensible

and direct course of stating the whole truth in a letter to that terror of ministries, the *Times* newspaper, and thus at once completely cleared himself so far as the case lay between him, Sir James Graham, and the late Captain Christie. And what was the case, and in what respects did the real facts bear out Sir James Graham's specious and insidious appeal to the House of Commons? Why, that so far from the court-martial on Captain Christie's conduct having been the result of any charges brought against him by Mr. Layard, that gentleman had alleged nothing against him, but that he considered him near seventy years old, and far too infirm for the position he held at Balaklava. And, moreover, he proved that the court-martial had been ordered, and Captain Christie removed from Balaklava by Sir James Graham himself, weeks before Mr. Layard's allegation, and consequently on totally different grounds, with which Mr. Layard had nothing to do! In fact, by Sir James Graham's own admission, if any one was accessory to Captain Christie's death, by the instigation and appointment of the court-martial, it was Sir James Graham himself, and not Mr. Layard, whom he so unblushingly accused of it. The idea that the unfortunate but gallant captain could have been affected by what the honourable member said, was too absurd to be entertained for a moment by any reasonable man. It reminds us of a charge of cruelty brought against a gentleman by his wife, in a case of divorce, in which the most heinous instance alleged, was that he one day said to her in the presence of a gentleman, "Why, my dear, you look forty years old!" Now, we can understand why such an allegation should affect the temper and ruffle the pride of a lady, yet we much question whether one of the fair sex would absolutely die under such an imputation. But that a fire-eating captain should do so, or that his death could by any possibility be accelerated by it, was a monstrosity too great for Sir James Graham himself to believe, or for any one but himself to assert. We should be surprised that the House of Commons did not resist the indignity of having been imposed upon by so false and shameless a charge, were it not that we have known many, quite as many, disreputable matters overlooked or quashed by that honourable assembly. Finding that the letter to the *Times* had done its work, and placed his character in not the most favourable light for veracity, Sir James thought it expedient—as he could not deny Mr. Layard's statement, which was confirmed by public documents, with any hope of being believed—to "explain," as it is called—that is, he ascribed the "mistake" to a lapse of memory. But he was compelled to admit the truth of Mr. Layard's statement, and the falsehood of his

own; so that, so far as Captain Christie's death was concerned, Mr. Layard was completely exonerated, whilst he himself, by implication and by the gist of his charge against his opponent, stood convicted of the very offence of which he accused his antagonist. This instance of tergiversation, perpetrated for the unworthy purpose of bringing down a hunted opponent, was quite of a piece with the general course of Sir James Graham's political conduct. Many cases will occur to the reader's recollection, in which "Peel's little dirty boy" (as *Punch* designated the baronet) involved the ministry in disgrace. Yet such is the versatility of his genius—shall we say rather, of his character—that although it is notorious that he has so frequently changed his principles that, like the mixture of colours producing no colour, the result has been no principle at all, he is pretty sure that, whatever party comes in, they may find in him a ready man-of-all-work. We much question whether, if the chartists were to gain the ascendancy, and form a cabinet, Sir James Graham would not become the most strenuous supporter of the five points. We suppose his having "boxed the political compass" so constantly in Downing Street, was deemed a qualification for the office of First Lord of the Admiralty.

In the last chapter upon home events, space did not allow of our introducing an important parliamentary matter. On the 2nd of March, Mr. Roebuck—who, it will be recollected, carried a motion in the House of Commons calling for an inquiry into the causes of the disasters before Sebastopol—moved that the sittings of the committee appointed in the result of that motion should be secret. Mr. Roebuck wished secrecy as a protection to the numerous officers who were likely to be examined, and who would be intimidated from giving their evidence openly with that clearness which they would privately, from fear of offending the military authorities at the Horse Guards, where the administration was nothing short of a grinding and vindictive despotism. It was also desired to meet in secret, so as not to give any offence to the French government, which had been held *in terrorum* by the Peelite section of the Aberdeen cabinet. Mr. Roebuck's motion was resisted by the whole cabinet, and by members of the late cabinet—the "ins and the outs" alike contending that the persons examined would tell what they said; and as Sir James Graham artfully suggested, "between No. 17 up-stairs, and Printing House Square, a whispering gallery will be established, which day by day will disclose to the public what takes place before your committee of secrecy!" Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion. His conduct—often eccentric and erotchetty, as it is thoroughly frank

and honourable, in political affairs—excited on this occasion much public animadversion. The decision that the committee should be an open one satisfied the house and the country. The motives of the official parties on both benches were in all probability not patriotic, but sinister; they desired to have an authentic report of every man's evidence, so that it might be remembered in the proper official quarter, and leave him no loop-hole for escape from the responsibility to their arbitrary power. The proceedings of the committee are reserved for a more appropriate portion of our pages.

An interesting act of sympathy with her soldiers, on the part of the queen, gave the people and the troops great satisfaction. Fifty men of the Guards, who had been invalided from the Crimea, were commanded by her majesty to attend in the grand hall of Buckingham Palace, for inspection by the queen and prince. Twenty of these men were Grenadiers, and the remainder were composed of an equal number of Coldstreams and Fusiliers. The commanding officer and chief non-commissioned officer of each regiment attended, and explained the services of the men, and the wounds they had received. Her majesty was accompanied by her children, except the youngest. The Prince and Princess of Saxe Coburg, and the Prince of Leiningen, were also present. No words could describe her majesty's kindness of manner and deed to her poor brave fellows. Some of these were among the men she had saluted from her balcony, when, in the dim spring morning of 1854, their cheers echoed through Buckingham Palace as she waved them her adieu. The author had his inspection of these noble fellows, not within the precincts of the palace, but from a suitable situation in the park. They were weather-beaten, wounded, sick, maimed, yet trying to move proudly erect with the mien of men who had fought and conquered. They seemed neglected—their coats were threadbare in some cases, and there was an appearance of dilapidation about them which could not fail to annoy her majesty, for whom their blood had so freely and bravely flowed. It was said that she was greatly affected, and after struggling with her emotions,—firm and resolute as the royal lady is,—she turned her head and gave free vent to her tears. The writer of these pages has seen much of warriors, and the pomp and trappings of gaudy military array, but never amongst the exciting events which transpired in the metropolis during the progress of the campaign, did he feel his heart so stirred with sympathy for sufferers, and with admiration for the dignified bearing of men who, except that victory and glory crowned their efforts, were so unfortunate. Signs of deep personal sufferings

blended with tokens of neglect in their appearance, and some had a sad expression, especially one poor fellow, who had lost his right arm; but the prevailing expressions in every face were dignity, resignation, and fortitude.

Attempts were now made, under the auspices of the Palmerston premiership, and Lord Panmure, to correct the abuses of our military system. Lord Palmerston displayed great energy in this as in everything else. Lord Panmure made some very judicious arrangements, but both were impeded by the crushing despotism of the Horse Guards, where antiquated and corrupt practices were defended with desperate tenacity. It is painful, however, to record of two such able and liberal men as the premier and the war minister, that they did not grapple with the evils with the firmness that was expected; and by degrees Lord Panmure fell away from his reform zeal, and trod quietly in the old track. But for the sittings of the Sebastopol committee, it was plain that nothing would have been done, and when they came to an end, so did the energy of the War-office, such as it was, for reformation. After the war terminated, Lord Panmure made a very ungrateful speech, denouncing the public agitation for right and justice—which placed himself in office—as unjustifiable and unnecessary, and applying to the popular action epithets of disrespect. His lordship even expressed it as a great pity that the Duke of Newcastle, so efficient and competent for the post, had ever been dismissed from it. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Lord Panmure would have speedily followed him, had he not carefully concealed his real sympathies and opinions during the progress of the conflict. It was marvellous that the English public should permit a man to remain in such an office, even when war had ceased, who so insulted their generous and patriotic efforts, and whom they had treated with so much forbearance and deference. Truly, the English people are very patient of their lords!

A great display of official importance was made in connection with a camp at Aldershot, formed somewhat after the model of the camp at Beverloo, in Belgium. The camping ground is covered with heath, and to the extent of 3000 acres. It is undulated and picturesque, and promised to be a healthy place for the encampment of soldiers. Parliament voted £100,000 for the land, and a quarter of a million sterling for barracks. The tents were estimated to cost £100,000, exclusive of their foundations: drainage, well-sinking, parade grounds, roads, &c., were items of additional expense. It was alleged that by quartering there some 10,000 regular troops and 20,000 militia, the system of military training would be greatly improved, and the general officers gather some

experience as to the command of brigades, divisions, and of larger bodies of men.

On the 7th of March a very interesting meeting was held in the metropolis, on behalf of the wives and orphans of soldiers. It was attended by great numbers, and was characterised by unusual enthusiasm. The Duke of Cambridge presided, and spoke with his usual frankness and honesty, prudence and good taste. His speech made a very great impression in the assembly, and afterwards received a large share of favourable public notice.

On the 26th of March an address, in reply to a message sent by her majesty to the House of Lords respecting the convention lately made with Sardinia, was voted on the motion of the Earl of Clarendon.

In the commons the house went into committee to consider her majesty's message in respect to that treaty. Messrs. Bright, Cobden, and Mr. Bowyer disparaged the treaty; Mr. Bowyer bitterly attacking the Sardinian government, that gentleman being the only openly avowed abettor of Austria in the house. Mr. Bright also impugned the motives of Sardinia as interested; Mr. Cobden complimented that government and nation, but expressed his regret that it should be "dragged into an alliance with Austria." To these strictures Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone made eloquent and effective replies. Mr. Disraeli denounced the convention, but in a spirit so purely partisan that his speech brought neither conviction nor moral influence, notwithstanding his brilliant abilities. An address to the queen, in harmony with the policy of the government, was carried without a division. "Out-of-doors" these proceedings were hailed with unbounded popularity.

The accession of Sardinia to the Western alliance would excite a smile on the countenance of a subject of "one of the great European powers," as they are styled *par excellence*. Austria, indeed, did not smile at this insolence, as she considered it, of her democratic neighbour, but rather showed a spirit like a ruffled wolf or hyena, which shows its teeth and crests its mane. The presumption of a petty state, just emerging from despotism like her own, was galling to Austria in the extreme. This example of independent action was dangerous to the peace of the oppressed dependencies of the house of Hapsburg, and gladly would it crush Sardinia as it crushed Hesse-Cassel, if it dared, rather than see her admitted a member of a confederacy of free states against a power with which all her sympathies were allied, and which she treacherously endeavoured to save from the fate that awaited it, by thwarting and procrastinating the efforts of the Western powers. But Sardinia was acknowledged by England and

France with a cordiality that did honour to both; and with a promptness that bore no resemblance to the pusillanimity and treachery of Austria. Sardinia sent her contingent of troops to the seat of war, consisting of as fine a body of men as at any time landed in the Crimea.

And what was the value of this accession of Sardinia to the Western league? This is a question best replied to by stating her relative position, and the political condition of her people, as compared with those of the nations around her. With respect to the first, she has France on the west, Austrian Lombardy on the north. Her population on the main-land does not much exceed five millions; but they are a bold and warlike race, and she maintains a standing army of 60,000, and a militia of 40,000 men.

But in regard to the second point, small and insignificant as Sardinia appeared in a territorial point of view, she was the representative of a principle which completely isolates her from the surrounding kingdoms and states. The events of 1848 obtained for her a constitution similar to our own, placing the subject at equal distance from the licence of republicanism on the one hand, and monarchical despotism on the other. And whatever may be thought of the theory of the first, as the most perfect form of government, the instance we have had of late years of the attempts to establish it, proved that the people were not fit for it—that it required a far greater amount of public virtue than was to be found in any European nation. Sardinia, therefore, was placed under a constitutional monarchy like our own; nor was her constitution allowed to remain a dead letter, to be cancelled on the first favourable opportunity. With an earnestness and sincerity that bespeak a high sense of the value of freedom to the governor as well as the governed, to the prince as to the people, the King of Sardinia goes hand-in-hand with the representative bodies of his kingdom in the reform of abuses, the consolidation of national rights, the development of the constitution, and, above all, the cutting down of ecclesiastical power where it interferes with civil rights. This latter policy, beyond all others, incurred the wrath of the Viennese government; and if Austria did not more menacingly show her disapprobation, it was through fear of England and France, not from consideration for Sardinia. That little kingdom stood a political oasis in the desert, a perfect contrast to the surrounding states; at once a terror and eyesore to the governments, and a pattern to the peoples. Sardinia was, in fact, the only state in Europe that reaped any permanent advantage from the outbreak of 1848. England and Sardinia are the only two

really constitutional states in Europe. Piedmont was a sacred name to Englishmen, and that country possessed the nucleus of freedom, that, if preserved intact, might prove the seed of the future freedom of Italy, if not of entire Europe. We trust that as Sardinia learned freedom in the school of England, the latter will support her pupil in the arduous struggle which most assuredly she will have to encounter some day with Austria, but which she will have no reason to fear with England to back her.

Referring to an event which was so popular in England as the convention with Sardinia, some circumstances may appropriately be noticed, which space did not allow us to introduce in a chapter on Sardinia. An account of the constitution and modes of procedure of the Sardinian parliament will interest every reader who values parliamentary government. In a work entitled the *Sub-Alpine Kingdom*, by Bayle St. John, we have the following account:—"The chamber in which the Sub-Alpine deputies meet is a magnificent one, very lofty, with a doomed roof. As in France, the form is that of a hemicycle; so that the members can divide themselves locally, as they do in name, into members of the right, the centre-right, the centre, the centre-left, and the left. A few democrats, who occupy places at the extreme left, are sometimes called the 'Mountain.' The seats rise one above the other, from a semi-circular floor, in the centre of which are placed tables for the official shorthand writers; and on the extreme verges of which, with their faces to the house, behind a long table, sit the ministers, who, as in France, may appear in the senate as well as in the chamber of deputies—without, however, the right of voting, except as members. Behind the ministers rises a tribune, from which no one scarcely ever seems to speak; and behind that the seat of the president, who is surrounded by a platform, on which sit numerous secretaries. The press has a gallery at its service, placed in a convenient position; and the diplomatic corps and the municipal authorities are well provided for. There is also the ladies' tribune; and, above all, round the base of the dome, is a gallery from which the miscellaneous crowd of constituents endeavour to catch what is going on below. The acoustical arrangements of the chamber are very imperfect. Most of the deputies speak in Italian, more or less pure. It is easy to see they are accustomed to address their wives, their servants, and their friends in a different idiom. The natives of Savoy and Nice speak in French; and the contrast of that weak succession of unaccentuated syllables perpetually disappointing the ear, with the fine, sonorous, musical sound of even bad Italian, sometimes produces a very comic

effect. An obstinate Codin starting fiercely up, whilst the house is still ringing with the musical periods of Brofferio, to express his indignation in words ending in *aiout* and *on*, always creates a smile; and every one is inevitably reminded of a giant speaking in the voice of a dwarf. By long living in France one gets accustomed to this simpering, and able even to understand why those who use it fancy it is peculiarly masculine; but one hour in the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies—to say nothing of Madame Ristori—re-educates the ear completely. The first debate I heard in the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies was a grievous disappointment to me in many respects, as a friend of parliamentary government. The house was orderly and methodical, it is true,—perhaps too orderly and too methodical. Each member sat in his place with pen and ink before him, sometimes writing letters or reading newspapers; while an orator, whether of his own party or not, was impeaching the ministers. There is a coldness and stiffness in the manners of the members. They rarely cheer their friends, though they sometimes 'Oh, oh!' their opponents. A few attempts at good earnest speaking which I heard gradually subsided amidst general indifference. All this was explained by the desire of the Piedmontese to keep on their guard against their southern nature, lest they should imitate and exaggerate the boyish rioting of French deliberative assemblies; and also by the fact that, since the alliance, all warm parliamentary discussions were considered imprudent. Liberty, in fact, exists in Piedmont, they said, by sufferance; and there is always an immediate danger that, although Victor Emmanuel may be now resolved not to attempt a *coup d'état*, a powerful neighbour may come in and effect it for him. Piedmont, like Belgium, is a perpetual source of envious irritation to the people that have lost what it has retained. I was willing to accept this explanation of the dulness and want of spirit I noticed; but it was not these things that most disappointed me."

A curious letter was written to the Emperor of Russia by one of his own exiled subjects, a man of ability. This epistle excited so much attention at the time that we insert it:—

April 5, 1855.

"SIRE,—You inherit the greatest empire which ever existed. Conscious of the difficulties of your task, you claim the assistance of Heaven, and it is the duty of every friend of humanity to assist you.

"I respect the sorrow you manifest on the death of your father; the praises you bestow on him are those of a good son. But let us hope that you will not pursue his policy in

all points; you could not do so even if you wished, for you have not his heart.

"Allow me to call your attention to the most important points of Russia's welfare.

"There are several millions of heretics who, with time, will revolutionise the empire if they are not helped. I always considered them as men misled by want of information. They by no means deserve the cruel measures employed by your father against them—measures which produce an effect quite contrary to their intention. The results of persecutions in religious matters, in all times of history, have been martyrdom. Let the heretics be instructed, kindly treated, and they will by degrees join the orthodox church.

"The synod is presided over by a general of cavalry, whilst you have metropolitans of the heart and intellect of Philaret. Encroachments of the Church over the State are no more to be feared in our times.

"Put aside, also, the persecutions of the Jews. All great sovereigns of all times have protected them—Constantine, Charlemagne, Peter I., Frederick II. Napoleon, and bad princes, such as Caligula, Philippe, Augustus, Edward I., have persecuted them.

"The question of serfdom in Russia is not as difficult as it seems to be. Decree, sire, that the ignominious expression of *souls*, in reckoning serfs, is not to be further used; that the possession of serfs, based only on *use and abuse*, is to cease, and voluntary conditions to take the place of the present forced ones.

"Your heart is good. Look on the sufferings of the recruits; consider that every day there are more than 100,000 lashes (blows) given to the soldiers, and remember that for each man who falls in the war, there is a mother in tears. Do not propagate orthodoxy by the sword, nor fight against freedom. What use was it for the late emperor to have saved Austria, which is now with the allies against Russia?

"Freedom is a holy thing on earth; alone it makes man resemble his Creator. Do not check it. Let thought, this dearest gift of God to man, be freely expressed in your empire. 'Give thought freedom, sire,' say I with Schiller; and convinced that if your Imperial Majesty will grant these trifling requests, you will earn glory and thankfulness,

"I remain, of your Imperial Majesty the most devoted servant,

"IVAN GOLOVIN."

Few incidents during the war excited more attention in England than the loss of the *Tiger* steam-ship near Odessa. The cruelty shown by the enemy in the attack, the death of her gallant commander, the boasting in Russia over the capture of a crew of a British man-of-

war, and the destruction of so fine a ship of her class, created painful feelings in England, and excited something like a morbid interest concerning anything connected with the fate of the *Tiger* and her crew. The loss of the vessel having occurred so near the beginning of the war had also an unpleasant effect upon the public mind. The captured crew were restored by exchange of prisoners, and on Thursday, 12th of April, a court-martial was held upon the lieutenant of the watch on the night of the disaster, and upon the master. This trial excited additional attention from the fact that Lieutenant Royer (who was put upon his trial) had, on his return from Russian imprisonment, written a glowing account of the excellence and nobleness of everything Russian: so much was the lieutenant impressed in favour of Muscovite society and manners, that no one who reads his book would fail to think it a pity he did not exchange his citizenship, and become the subject of a state whose principles and tastes were so congenial to his own. The following is a correct summary of the report of this court-martial. The particulars elicited throw a light upon the transaction necessary to complete its history:—

"On Thursday the court proceeded to try First-lieutenant Royer, and Mr. Edington, master of the *Tiger*, for the loss of that ship; the court having previously acquitted all the other officers and ship's company of all blame in the said loss, they became necessary as witnesses.—Mr. Francis Edington, in answer to the president, said the log was burnt immediately after the capture of the ship.—Mr. Webb Elphinstone Stone sworn: I was third lieutenant on board the *Tiger*, and had the first watch on the night of the 11th of May last. The captain himself came on deck, and told me to alter the course to N. and by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W., and nothing to the northward; to be very particular about the look-outs, and to report any sail. Ascertained we were bound for Odessa. The master was on deck during the whole watch, with the exception of a quarter of an hour, at intervals.—Richard Mallet sworn: I was captain of the maintop on board the *Tiger* on the 11th of May last, and it was my watch on the night before she was wrecked. I think the deep-sea lead was hove about seven bells, but I do not recollect. I do not recollect any of the men being called to heave it.—Frederick Hammond sworn: I was mate of the middle watch on the morning when the *Tiger* was wrecked. The master came on deck every hour. He was present when the soundings were taken. The weather was very foggy—very thick the whole watch.—Bussell Nind sworn: I was midshipman of the watch on the morning her majesty's ship *Tiger* was wrecked. Land was not seen or reported that

I heard, before the ship struck. The ship struck at about twenty minutes to six; she was under steam only. When she struck she was going, I should think, about four knots. Mr. Royer was the officer of the watch. The first thing done was we tried to back her off. We got the port paddle-box boat out. Got out the small bower, and laid it out by a boat. The hemp sheet cable was bent to it. We let go the anchor from the port quarter, took the cable to the capstan, and then tried to heave her off. This was about a quarter after six. The enemy commenced firing at us from the shore. This was about nine. We had been interrupted in our proceedings before by their firing musketry at us. We have the main deck guns overboard fore and aft. All the water except six tons was started. Before she struck we had two look-outs—one on the port cathead and the other on the starboard paddle-box. When the ship struck there were several signal guns fired from the ship and musketry as well. This was nearly immediately after she struck.—Charles Wilkinson, sworn: I was the mate of the watch. The soundings decreased gradually until we got eight fathoms, when I gave the order to go as slow as they possibly could without stopping, at the same time going down to call the captain. I called him, and told him we had got eight fathoms. He asked at what rate she was going, and I replied, as slow as she possibly could at present, but that she was going four and-a-half or five knots when I eased her. He then asked what kind of weather it was, and I told him very thick indeed; and he said, 'Go on about the same speed you were going before until you get five fathoms, and when you get five fathoms keep her west, and if you then shoal your water stop her immediately.' I then went on deck. We went on at seven fathoms for about six or eight minutes, and then struck. I had no exact idea of where the ship was, but I imagined we must be near to Odessa.—After the examination of several witnesses on Friday, which closed the case for the prosecution, the court adjourned.

"On Saturday the court re-assembled, when the president having called upon the accused to enter into their defence, Lieutenant Royer, in addressing the court, having alluded to his services in the royal navy, extending over a period of twenty-eight years, remarked that the charges for which he, as one of the surviving officers of the *Tiger*, was then on his trial, were two, viz., the stranding of the ship whilst he was officer of the watch, and, secondly, his conduct after she got on shore, with respect to the endeavours made to float her off, and her subsequent surrender to the Russians. With regard to the first charge, he had only to state that he took every precau-

tion in his power for her safe conduct, by having the leads constantly hove, by easing and stopping her to ascertain the correctness of the soundings, frequently visiting the look-outs, &c., and reporting to the captain when he thought it most requisite. When the water shoaled to seven fathoms, he ordered the engines to be eased, and at once reported to the captain. With respect to the second portion of the charges against him, he respectfully submitted that he acted in everything under the orders of the captain, who retained the command, and conducted the defence of the vessel, until he had ordered the Russian ensign to be hoisted, and an officer to land with a flag of truce. The accused then put in letters to his character from various captains in her majesty's service, and also called witnesses in support of his statements in defence.—Mr. Edington then addressed the court, stating that he believed the ship to have been set off her course to the westward by the current, which after her stranding was known to have set the paddle-box boat away from the ship in a south-westwardly direction, and at a rate of nearly four knots, particularly during the morning watch, whilst she was eased and stopped for the purpose of taking soundings. After reviewing various portions of the evidence, he concluded by stating that he felt the court would acquit him of all blame in the loss of the vessel.—The court was then cleared, and after a deliberation of four hours' duration, found as follows: 'That the ship *Tiger* was run on shore in consequence of having been rashly conducted as she approached the coast of Odessa, on the morning of the 12th of May last, and that after the ship had been run on shore the measures resorted to to get her afloat were very injudicious; but in respect to the surrender of the *Tiger* to the enemy, that as the ship was aground without any hope being entertained of floating her off, and as she was exposed to the enemy's guns, which had set her on fire, and upon which the guns of the ship could not be brought to bear, no blame attaches in consequence of such surrender. The court is further of opinion that no blame is imputable to Lieutenant Royer, since he acted under the immediate direction of his captain, and the court doth adjudicate him to be acquitted. The court is further of opinion that Mr. Francis Edington is blamable for the want of caution which was exhibited by him in approaching the shore near Odessa, but in consideration of his previous good character and long service, the court doth adjudge him to be only severely reprimanded; and the said Lieutenant Royer is hereby acquitted, and that the said Francis Edington be, and is hereby severely reprimanded.'—Both officers then retired with their friends, and the court broke up."

The subject of military promotions engaged the concern of the public, and was brought under the notice of the commons without much benefit resulting. The War-office was not filled in a manner to do justice to the service or to the country in this particular. It required a perpetual agitation out of doors to effect any reforms through the means of government or parliament. The following brief outline of the speeches of Major Reed and Captain Scobell, upon the motion of the former in the commons for a committee of inquiry, will at once illustrate the system, and show the reader the injustice to which meritorious British officers were exposed, and the way in which the country was deprived of efficient servants, while the rich, careless, and incompetent were thrust over their heads.

“Major Reed moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the present mode of conferring commissions in the army, by purchase or otherwise, and to recommend a more efficient system for securing promotion to merit and long service. The existing mode of obtaining commissions and promotion by purchase was, he contended, pernicious to the service, unjust to the private soldier, and most oppressive to poor and deserving officers who had adopted the army as a profession, but could not afford to buy their advancement to its higher grades. The honourable and gallant gentleman proceeded to say, that Lieutenant Magnay was an officer in the 60th regiment; that a company became vacant to which he, as the senior lieutenant, was entitled; but, as he was not prepared to purchase, another who had more money was put over his head. He was present at the battle of the Alma, and was up to his knees in mud in the trenches before Sebastopol; but another officer, with more money and interest, obtained that to which he was by right entitled, to the disgust of the whole corps. The next case he would bring before the house was that of an officer who retired from the service in disgust, and who felt it to be his bounden duty to expose the frightful evil which resulted from the disgraceful system which existed at present. This officer stated that two-thirds of the officers in the army were crushed beneath the weight of interest and money.

“Captain Scobell, in seconding the motion, said that he was actuated by no personal feeling. His object was not to condemn the past but to amend the future, and he hoped the government would seriously consider whether some practical and beneficial result might not be obtained from an alteration of the present system of purchase. His honourable and gallant friend quoted instances enough to show the injustice of the present system; and it appeared from what he said that the royal

sign-manual was put up to sale between officer and officer at even a higher price than was legal, the commander-in-chief of the army being the auctioneer. He would quote in confirmation of his view the opinion of a gentleman who lately occupied a seat on the treasury bench, but who since he left that applied a key to his mind. The honourable member for Kidderminster, addressing his constituents, said, ‘The cankerworm which caused the failure of this campaign is the vice of public patronage.’ There was a great deal of patronage in the army, but it was rampant in the navy. The honourable member for Kidderminster went on to say, ‘Our statesmen are not identified with the public interests.’ He hoped the noble lord would mark that. He knew there were secret influences which were holding him back, but he would not exemplify his usual courage if he shrunk from discharging the duty he owed to his country in this matter.”

Among the house episodes of the war which attracted public attention, was the presentation of the freedom of the City of Edinburgh to Major Nasmyth, one of the heroes of Silistria; and who took part also in the battles of Alma and Balaklava:—“Major Nasmyth, who is the son of a respected citizen of Edinburgh, and was a pupil of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy there, was accompanied by his father. He wore the uniform of the Bombay Horse Artillery, and was decorated with the Turkish order of the Medjidié. The council chamber was crowded to excess, and the gallant officer was loudly cheered. The lord-provost, having presented the burgess ticket to Major Nasmyth, with some appropriate remarks, the gallant major, in returning thanks, expressed his deep regret that his distinguished friend Captain James Butler had not been spared to reap similar rewards. In him the state lost a faithful servant, a gallant soldier, and an accomplished gentleman. It was a duty he owed to another brother soldier, an old pupil of the Military Academy, who was now serving in the East, to mention the gallant services of his friend, Lieutenant Ballard, of the Bombay Engineers. That officer, when affairs in Silistria looked desperate, and the prospect of relief all but hopeless, volunteered his valuable assistance, and essentially contributed to the successful defence of the fortress. It was he who performed the last kind services on earth to poor Butler. He hoped he might be pardoned for taking that opportunity to correct what he conceived to be an erroneous impression prevalent in this country as to the qualities of the Turkish soldiers, and of bearing his testimony, after ample opportunities of judging of them, to their patient endurance and unsurpassed courage under circumstances of difficulty and of danger.”

Considerable dissatisfaction was excited by the appointments to command in the Turkish Contingent. General Vivian, a man of aristocratic connexions, but of no public services to give him a claim for such distinction, obtained the chief command. Colonel Shirley was appointed to the cavalry division of the force, although he was a man utterly unknown to fame, and a number of officers of superior rank and great experience in the field were anxious for the appointment. The sub-divisions of the cavalry were given to Colonel Smith, and Brigadier Mayne; the former a man of as little military reputation as either Vivian or Shirley. Brigadier Mayne declined the inferior appointment, disgusted with the insult offered to his experience as a well-known and distinguished officer. The *Times* newspaper, commenting on these proceedings, bitterly but most justly said:—"The appointments to the Turkish Contingents are a mere job. The sharp lessons of the Crimea have given no instruction to our public men. We verily believe that if the Russians were in Southwark, the War-office would be looking out for some relation, friend, or *protégé* to whom alone would be entrusted the task of bidding them move on." The scandalous partiality displayed in these arrangements was not to be attributed to the Horse Guards, which was slyly made to bear the blame of all War-office delinquencies. Lord Panmure was answerable to the public and to posterity for "the job." He had accepted the War-office to amend what was amiss only so far as to keep in check what he afterwards called public "clamour;" his own ideas were of the old school—he was less industrious, more experienced, and, on the whole, only a little better than the Duke of Newcastle. Both were good men, and desirous to do right, but both were under the influences of their class, especially Lord Panmure, to a degree dangerous to the public weal. It would, perhaps, be difficult to place in any office men more highly esteemed for their private virtues, but their political and class prejudices and sympathies unfitted them for a position which, more than any other, required a stern patriotism, an inflexible resolution, and an entire freedom from all personal or class partialities.

The recall of the Earl of Lucan from the command of the cavalry in the Crimea excited much discussion; and the energetic temperament of his lordship would not permit the matter to pass into oblivion. He urged his case upon the House of Lords, and through that high medium made a statement of it to the world. When recording the events of the battle of Balaklava, we expressed our conviction that the orders of Lord Raglan were such as Lord Lucan could not have disobeyed. Tak-

ing the written order in connection with Captain Nolan's own interpretation of it, we do not see how any officer could have done otherwise than Lord Lucan did—remonstrate, and obey. It seems that the noble earl is much dissatisfied with the light in which the event is narrated in these pages. But the rule of truth has been followed in this, as in every other case, to the best of the author's judgment. He feels obliged to the Earl of Lucan, as he does to other noble persons who have communicated with him, but if anything appear in a light unfavourable to him and them, impartiality and integrity so constrained. In the case of the Earl of Lucan, no other writer on the subject has regarded matters from a point of view so favourable to his lordship; even his distinguished relative, Lord Hardinge, in the correspondence which took place between them, and which Lord Lucan read to the House of Peers, decided the matter in favour of Lord Raglan. In concurrence with many officers, as competent to pronounce an opinion as Lord Hardinge himself, we have no hesitation in saying that the written order to Lord Lucan, given by his superior officer, did not clearly express what that officer afterwards declared to be his meaning; and that to the obscurity of the document, by which Captain Nolan as well as Lord Lucan was misled, the fatality of Balaklava is to be attributed. It was unfortunate that Lord Lucan did not use his prerogative as a lieutenant-general, and on his own responsibility decline the charge; but he was so peculiarly situated, both to Lords Raglan and Cardigan, that his hesitation to assume any such responsibility may be easily accounted for.

While all these incidents passed before the public view, the heart of the nation was penetrated by anxiety as to the proceedings before Sebastopol, and in the conference at Vienna, then sitting. It was felt that if the second bombardment terminated in a failure, Russia would be less willing to negotiate; and when such was the unfortunate result, the public anxiety as to the effect likely to be produced in Vienna was very great. "Vienna or Sebastopol—which?" was in every mouth. On two distinct, and it might be said rival, theatres of conflict steel and thunder were at work. In the Crimea the 13-inch mortars and the bayonet were employed for their sanguinary purposes from night to night; while at Vienna, although the steel pen only gave point to the enemy, and protocols alone fulminated, the contest was also keenly waged. The attention, not only of the English public, but of "the kings of the earth, and of the whole world," were divided by these separate conflicts; yet, separate as they were, both as to the scenes upon which their parts were enacted, and as to the parts themselves, their influences were re-

reciprocity. A prompt settlement at Vienna would have silenced all the thunders that boomed around Sebastopol, and sheathed the sword; a decisive victory, where the beleaguered city and beleaguered camp threw up their embankments, and worked and counter-worked their mines, would have as certainly shut up the portfolios of the ministers, and stopped the nimble steel of the writers. Well might the English public listen for foreign intelligence with suspense, and ask, "Which first?" Public hope was undoubtedly turned to Vienna, although doomed, both there and at Sebastopol, for the time to be disappointed. A wag suggested, in one of the public journals, that the English representatives at Vienna and Sebastopol should change places: Lord Raglan wrote nice letters, which would come gracefully from Vienna; whereas Lord John, whose self-sufficiency no one doubted, might as well try the direction of affairs in the Crimea. Every day during this part of April men opened the public journals eagerly, expecting to read that the Zouave and the Connaught Ranger, the tartaned Highlander and the burly Guardsman, had planted the ladder, clambered the silenced earthworks, mounted the trench, and pressed down the slopes of the defences to the barricaded streets, already swept for them by the guns pushed forward to clear their progress. It was felt that, come when it would, it must be an awful tragedy, but one more likely to settle down Europe into the equipoise of its various powers than any other which was ever enacted, not excepting sanguinary Waterloo. If that deed were accomplished, the minor diplomatists might enjoy themselves with Count Buol; while Drouyn de Lhuys could return to his cabinet, Lord John to Chesham Place and the Colonial-office, and Gortschakoff and Nesselrode go home, and give the knout to their serfs. All "the points" would have then resolved themselves into one—the point of the bayonet; terms of peace would have been within the comprehension of Lord Westmoreland, although even then his lordship would be more at home in a high mass, or an oratoria. Russia would have to make peace on the terms proposed, or her flag would be expelled from the Euxine; and there could be no doubt to which alternative she would submit.

When the intelligence arrived in England of the failure of the second bombardment (which will be recorded in another chapter), the public despondency as to the issue of the campaign was most marked, while the determination to prosecute the war was not diminished. The general opinion (not in every respect verified by events) was expressed substantially in this way:—"There is no hope of terminating the war in the East by the tactics

hitherto pursued: a vast fortress, open to its supplies, and half invested (and an army auxiliary to it in the field, perhaps equal to that of the besiegers), cannot be stormed, if even storm be practicable, without the assaulting army encountering at the same moment peril from the army of relief too terrible to risk." A saying, supposed to be one of the first Napoleon's, that "the science of letting fortifications alone" was very important in a campaign, was very much quoted. He certainly put his remark into practice in his invasion of Italy by the Alps. So did Wellington in the memorable case of Burgos. These great commanders violated the rule of never leaving a well-appointed fortress behind an advancing army: they advanced to victories, which determined results of such magnitude as to leave the positions in their rear, which they did not tarry to conquer, no longer of use to the enemy. These things were the topics of conversation in the clubs and *cafés* of London, and in the exchanges and news-rooms of the provinces. It was urged that the Russians should be driven from the Tchernaya and Bagtché Serai, and their basis of operations be made a basis for the allies themselves in their advance upon Simpheropol and Perekop. It was argued that, if in the defiles and on the slopes of the Southern Crimea the Russian army in the field were defeated, and, driven across the great steppe of its northern side, were finally expelled from the Crimea, then the more men in Sebastopol the sooner its fall, and the more complete the loss to Russia, as all must become prisoners of war, or fall under the successive shocks of bombardment and assault, unless famine itself were employed where arms could not conquer; but, in either way, it was alleged there could be but one issue to such a policy—the city must fall. Confident as the various sections of the English public appeared to be in the plans and projects they were willing to patronise, and eager to see tried, yet all felt that they were warring in obscurity. Providence had hung over this "Armageddon," and its surrounding "Valley of Death" (the singularly prophetic name of the deep vale into which the allied positions looked), a cloud of perplexity and mystery. It remained for that Providence to afford the solution of the mystery, by events which rapidly hurried on in the progress of the struggle.

The arrival in England of the news that the Vienna conference, like the second bombardment, was a failure, roused the nation and quickened the pulse of its military fervour. The progress and issue of that assemblage of plenipotentiaries will be noticed in a separate chapter.

Murmurs, loud and general, against our statesmen filled the country. The peace-

party took advantage of this, and Mr. George Thompson, their eloquent and almost ubiquitous lecturer was heard, in most beguiling language, persuading large assemblies of the people that the war was never necessary—that no danger was then, or at any time, to be apprehended from Russia, and that the Vienna conference, only partially closed, should be at once formally re-opened to accept the terms of the czar. The author of this History, reviewing these circumstances at the time, replied to Mr. Thompson and his coadjutors in an eminent London journal in the following terms, which constitute an appropriate notice on this page of his narrative, of the party, their arguments, and the tendencies of those arguments at that juncture:—"If our diplomacy at Constantinople and Vienna, and our Foreign-office in London, had been thoroughly honest and enlightened, we need not have gone to war. Our ambassador at Constantinople had been regarded as a very able man, and, doubtless, he was well aware of the designs both of the Greek community in Turkey, and of Russia; but he had been gradually losing that energy which formerly characterised him, and was sinking down into the sinecure possession of a very dignified and costly embassage. Still the necessity of checking Russian designs upon the Turkish empire somehow became a necessity to European independence. This is not the place to go into elaborate proof of such a proposition, but it must be obvious that if the Russian eagles soar above the Bosphorus, Russia will command the East, and, from the straits of the Dardanelles, menace Southern and a large portion of Western Europe. It is true England would hold Malta and Gibraltar; and they are impregnable. France would hold Toulon and Algiers; and so long as she did, Russia could not emerge with impunity through the straits of Gibraltar, but the free navigation of that great arterial sea of commerce, the Mediterranean, would of course be lost to Western Europe. Egypt would soon be, in the case supposed, the prey of Russia; she would then hold all the great granaries of the world, excepting the United States, where the increase of population so keeps pace with production, that we can hardly take her into the account as a granary for Europe. By way of the Red Sea, India would be menaced; while nothing, in such circumstances, could prevent Russia from advancing upon Persia and all Central Asia, until her arms should gleam in the passes of Afghanistan. The world would eventually be at the feet of the czar. We own to as much apprehension from the possession of Finland, and the encroachments by arms and connexions upon Sweden and Denmark, as we do from the advance of Russia upon

Europe by the Euxine. In fact, if the world has not more to apprehend from her advance in that direction, England has. Sir Charles Napier has pronounced, not only Cronstadt, but Revel and Helsingfors, impregnable by land and sea! Russia has secured, both on the Baltic and in the Black Sea, a *point d'appui* of the utmost strength and importance. Safe in her interior, she has laid a base of aggressive operations at Cronstadt, at Sebastopol, and at Warsaw, upon or near the extremities of her empire, so that, in case of any war, she has only to throw an army forth upon the territory of her neighbours, and, if worsted by a powerful coalition, as in the present case, she can skulk into her hiding-places, and from these fastnesses bid defiance to those from whom she has carried thither the booty gathered in her foray. Either the aggressive policy of Russia must be abandoned, or the balance of power thus disturbed must be restored. The independent existence of the nations of all Europe demand this. That the policy of Russia is aggressive her most specious apologists must admit. Her czars and czarinas have successively avowed it. Her progress has been an uninterrupted career of conquest. In the direction of Constantinople, the great prize, this has been most especially the case. Only 154 years ago Russia made her first treaty with Turkey—the treaty of Azoff, by which each became pledged to send an envoy to the other, and thus 'diplomatic relations' began between them. The treaty of Kainardgi, of which we hear so much, and which was ostensibly for the security of certain immunities to the Greek Christians, was not signed until 1774. And it only *formally* secured privileges which, for seventy-five years, the sultan had been accustomed to accord without it. So early as 1699, Austria, Venice, and Poland, extorted the treaty of Carlowitz, securing protection to those professing the Latin faith; but what he was thus bound by treaty to give to the Latins, the sultan conceded also to the Greeks, and Russia had no real cause for interference. To interfere, and be felt as a power, and thus find a pretext for promoting her own views of aggrandisements, were the true objects of Russia. Every step in the path taken by the Emperor Nicholas was for the same destination, and hence Sebastopol became what it is—the wonder-fortress of the world."

It is unnecessary to dwell more on the progress of events in England, during the spring of 1855, which bore upon the war, especially as the relation of one most interesting episode, pleasing alike to France and England, and significant to the rest of the world, is reserved for a separate chapter—the visit of Napoleon and Eugenie to the Queen of England.

In France there were no events during the

spring to interest the English reader, except such as incidentally came under notice in connection with English affairs, or will be recorded in the next chapter. Rumours of the emperor's proceeding to Sebastopol, to take the command of his army in person, were rife through the month of March; and it was believed that, on the 6th of April, he would take his departure, the first, as a French wit said, being too remarkable a day. Instead of an expedition to the Crimea, he, more prudently advised, paid a visit to England.

The movements of troops to the seaports were incessant during March—among them, the Guards, amounting to 12,000 men. The embarkations of reinforcements were incessant—English ships rendering great service to the French government in conveying their troops.

In the *Courrier de Marseilles* of the 20th, were the following announcements:—"Embarkations in our port for the East continue with great activity. The steamer, *City of Manchester*, which sailed to-day, had on board the first battery of the Imperial Guard, with its officers, a detachment of sixty artillerymen of the 4th regiment, and 300 horses, of which 259 belonged to the first battery of the guard. This vessel will probably reach Kamiesch in eight days. On her return she will convey wounded soldiers to Constantinople, and take in from the hospitals of the city the men in a state of convalescence, and bring them back to Marseilles. The *Glasgow*, not having yet made the requisite fittings, will not be able to put to sea before Saturday. Thanks to the kindness of her intelligent captain, Mr. Cuming, and of the amateur, Sir George Alexander, our soldiers will find in that splendid vessel of the Scotch company every comfort they can wish for; the medical department, confided to Dr. Dunbar, leaves nothing to be desired. The *Glasgow* will likewise transport sick and wounded from the Crimea. The magnificent packet *Bresil* will leave to-night for the East: this is her first trip. General Herbillon, commander of the tenth division of the French army, and his staff, General Marguenat, commander of the first brigade of that division, M. Herbillon, junior, and several other officers, are to take passage in the *Bresil*, which carries, besides thirty-four horses, and a large quantity of bombs, and incendiary rockets. The steam-packet *Hydaspes* sails this afternoon direct for Constantinople, having on board a number of officers going to join their respective corps; the second battery of artillery of the 4th regiment, consisting of 124 men, and the third battery

of the 2nd regiment, 265 men strong. The large steamer *City of Baltimore*, of the Liverpool Company, to which the *City of Manchester* belongs, and the steamers *Natal* and *Cleator*, are on their way from England to Marseilles. The first two have in tow the clippers *Ticonderoga* and *Emma Jane*. The Sardinian steamer *Vittorio Emanuele*, of 2800 tons, built in London by Messrs. Mare and Co., left that capital on the 11th, and is hourly expected in our port. These vessels will convey at least 1100 horses and 1500 men. The American clipper *Ocean Herald*, which astonishes our population by her gigantic proportions, is a remarkably fast sailer, having performed the passage from England to Gibraltar in five days and a half. The beautiful yacht *Enchantress*, belonging to an English baronet, who is travelling with all his family, has arrived in the port of La Joliette, on her way to the East. Two additional batteries of artillery, destined for the Crimea, are expected at Marseilles. The screw ship *Charlemagne* arrived at Toulon from Algiers on the 20th instant. On the 19th the steam corvette *Volta*, of 400-horse power, was launched at L'Orient."

The justice and generosity of the French government in conferring honours and promotions upon deserving officers was very striking, and formed a remarkable contrast to the English government, whose plan was, according to an eminent London journal—"favour first, seniority next, and merit as it might be."

The *Moniteur d'Armée* published imperial decrees, promoting Generals d'Allonville, D'Aurelle de Paladines, and D'Autemarre d'Erville, commanding in the Crimea, and two others, to the rank of generals of division, and eight colonels, mostly serving in the East, to that of generals of brigade. The same journal contained a number of appointments in the Swiss Foreign Legion, up to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, of officers hitherto in the service of the Helvetic confederation. An imperial decree elevated Vice-admiral Romaine Desfosses, formerly minister of marine, to the dignity of senator.

In April, embarkations of troops and promotions of officers continued, but the grand events of that month were connected with the departure of the emperor and empress for England, their return, the attempt upon the emperor's life, the state of public feeling succeeding that crime, and the renewed demonstrations throughout France of confidence in the emperor's government, and loyalty to his person and throne. For a faithful account of these incidents the reader is referred to the next chapter.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF FRANCE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—WATERLOO AVENGED.—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE FRENCH EMPEROR ON HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.—LIFE OF NAPOLEON III.—STRANGE FORTUNES OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE ENGLISH COURT, THE COUNT WALEWSKI.

“ I well might lodge a fear
To be again displac'd ; which to avoid,
I cut some off ; and had a purpose now
To lead out many to the Holy Land ;
Lest rest, and lying still, might make them look
Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels ; that action, hence borne out,
May waste the memory of the former days.” SHAKSPEARE. *Henry IV.*

A VISIT from their imperial majesties to “the Queen of the Isles” had been for some time talked of in England and France. This was at last resolved upon at the court of Paris; and on the 15th of April the imperial pair left the Tuileries in an open carriage, escorted by the Cent Gardes. However suitable the day might be to the taste of the Parisians, his majesty showed, by selecting it, that his residence as an exile in England had not taught him all the peculiarities of the people whose sovereign he was about to visit—many of whom received the intelligence of his Sunday journey with dissatisfaction, as it appeared to them to show some deficiency in his majesty’s consideration or the feelings (or prejudices, as he might deem them) of the vast majority of the British nation. The emperor was accompanied in his journey by Marshal Vaillant, Minister of War, and Grand Marshal of the Palace; the Duke de Bassano, Grand Chamberlain; General de Montebello, Colonel Fleury, and the Marquis de Foulangeon, his aides-de-camp. The empress was attended by the Princess d’Essling, grand mistress of her household; the Countess de Montebello and the Countess de Maralset, ladies of the palace; and Count Fasher de la Pagerie, first chamberlain to her majesty.

The departure from Paris was attended by every demonstration of popular good wishes and respect. The Parisians were proud to see their emperor set forth to such a destination. At Calais the imperial suite proceeded to Dessin’s Hotel, where apartments were fitted up in great state for their reception. The old town of Calais was literally festooned with flowers, and brilliant illuminations lighted up its quaint dark streets. The next morning they embarked on board the *Pelican*, war-steamer, where they were received by the French admiral, the British ambassador to the court of Paris, Baron Rothschild, Sir Robert Peel, as a lord of the British Admiralty, Marshal Baragnay d’Hilliers, the British consul at Calais, and various other persons of minor note, whose official position bestowed the privilege, or im-

posed the duty, of being present. Admiral Chabannes conducted the empress on board, the emperor condescending to offer the support of his arm to the Princess d’Essling. The emperor was dressed in the uniform of a marshal of France; the empress wore a small chip bonnet, and a broad silk plaid dress, with a pretty grey hood, giving her the appearance and air of “a bonnie Scotch lass” of the higher ranks of society. It was an appropriate attire—her majesty being of Scottish lineage; and her style of face, complexion, and the tint of her hair, bearing strong resemblance to the more delicate types of Scottish beauty, the dress she patronised exceedingly became her. The *Pelican* was attended by a royal squadron. Scarcely had the imperial flotilla cleared the harbour, when a dense fog obscured the horizon, which rapidly became more dense, until the ships were separated, and danger to the vessel which bore the imperial charge was apprehended. After considerable delay, however, the *Pelican* reached Dover Harbour at a quarter past one.

Prince Albert, and a retinue of royal attendants, were waiting at the landing-place; and as the time for the imperial arrival passed away, and the delay became protracted, the royal party grew very apprehensive of accident, for the fog hung gloomily over Dover, and out at sea. At last all alarm was dissipated by the *Pelican* looming through the fog, in which could be barely discerned, even at the landing-place, the tricolor at the poop, the standard of England on the foremast, and the imperial flag at the main. Before the ship could be well seen, the music of the splendid band on board was wafted on shore over the hazy atmosphere, and “*Partant pour la Syrie*” thrilled through the hearts of those who waited to receive the longed-for guests. As soon as the music was heard, it was answered by a loud British cheer, the most appropriate, cordial, and, to the imperial guest, no doubt, pleasing welcome; for he understood English manners better than most foreigners, and knew that, when an English cheer greeted a public man, it was sincerely

given. A vast concourse had assembled, dim as the afternoon was, but there was no disorder; the ground was kept by detachments of militia; and the East Kent mounted rifles, a beautiful corps, appropriately formed the escort when their majesties landed. Before that event various interesting incidents occurred. It was known, by the electric telegraph at Dover, that their majesties had set sail almost as soon as the royal squadron moved from Calais, and immediately all the bells in Dover were made to give forth their merriest peals; vessels of all sorts made their way through the fog to give the imperial guests a joyous welcome; the band of the Royal Bucks Militia poured forth its best melody.

As soon as the *Pelican* came alongside, a gangway was run out, and his Royal Highness Prince Albert took his station upon it. The emperor and the prince shook hands, the empress and her train gracefully courtseying to his royal highness, who was not deficient in those gallant attentions appropriate to his position. The Count and Countess Walewski, who had been amongst the anxious expectants of the emperor's arrival, and had requested Lord Alfred Paget to put off in a man-of-war's boat on a cruise of investigation, were amongst the first persons noticed by the emperor, and all the bystanders were struck by the cordial and familiar greeting which his majesty vouchsafed to him. The Mayor of Dover presented his respectful congratulations upon the safe arrival of the emperor, who acknowledged the attention in a manner which showed his familiarity with English habits on such occasions.

After the ceremonies attendant upon the landing came to an end, the whole party proceeded to the Warden Hotel, where a luncheon was prepared in a style worthy of the occasion. On the way, the populace and multitudes of visitors at Dover, from far and near, raised their joyous acclamations. The empress had known England, having received a portion of her education in Bath, so that the mode in which the imperial pair acknowledged the gratulations of the people, showed their appreciation of the welcome they received.

After luncheon the corporation of Dover waited upon his majesty to present an address, which was read by Mr. Bodkin, the recorder of the borough, and listened to with marked attention by the imperial pair. The document itself was without any particular feature of interest, resembling most other provincial corporate addresses to royal personages.

The reply of the emperor was off-hand, and delivered with almost volubility: a slightly foreign accent gave interest to the expression. As the first words addressed by Napoleon III. to any public body of Englishmen, that brief

speech ought to be recorded on the pages of history:—"I am exceedingly grateful that your queen has allowed me to find such an occasion to pay my respects to her, and to show my sentiments of esteem and sympathy for the English people. I hope that the two nations will be always united, in peace and in war, for I am convinced that it will be for the welfare of the whole world, and for their own prosperity. I am exceedingly grateful to you for the sentiments you have expressed towards myself and the empress, and I hope you will be the interpreter of my sentiments and hers to your countrymen."

Immediately upon the withdrawal of the corporation, Prince Albert conducted his guests to the railway-station, which adjoins the hotel, where an apartment, elegantly decorated, received them for a short time, until the carriage was in readiness to convey the royal group to the capital. During this interval, Mr. Coles Child, with gallantry and good taste, presented the empress with a very beautiful bouquet. When the train started, a loud and hearty cheer from the vast multitude rang forth, and the royal train dashed off at full speed. The fog at this juncture cleared off, and the undulated landscapes of Kent were revealed to the admiring visitors. Along the whole line ovation awaited their majesties. At every station crowds pressed forward; the embankments of the railway were, at numerous recurring intervals, topped with eager groups, whose cheers greeted and followed the rapidly-passing train. Sometimes the children of public schools waved their tiny hands, and raised their shrill voices; labourers, workmen, and rustics, anon flourished their headgear, and bellowed loudly a boisterous welcome; tasteful flags danced in the light, gay air; and here and there inscriptions of compliment showed how hearty was the popular reception. At Tunbridge the train stopped for a short time, and a vast concourse of persons pressed their way through every barrier, and cheered—as if cheering was the only way to convey any proper demonstration of their gladness. The Addiscomb Cadets were drawn up at Croydon: their band played the French national anthem, and the cheers of the young soldiers greeted heartily the nephew of the greatest soldier the world ever produced. The imperial suit were much delighted as they approached the Crystal Palace, which gleamed beneath the white sunshine like the "Koh-i-noor," or "mountain of light." Perhaps that fairy structure never appeared so advantageously to travellers on the rail as it did that day; and the beautiful arrangement of upland and dale around it, looking so cheerful in the spring light, enhanced the beauty of the palace of crystal. At five o'clock, some hours after the time expected,

the train reached the terminus. There the Queen of England's carriages awaited its arrival; and in these the guests proceeded *en route* to the Paddington Station of the Great Western. From the Bricklayer's Arms Station, in the Old Kent Road, along the whole line of procession to Paddington, the footpaths were thronged with eager crowds; and the whole resources of London, in vehicles, private and public, were brought into requisition. Flags hung from the windows and housetops; the Tricolor flirted with the Union Jack in the most public thoroughfares. Across streets triumphal arches, decorated sometimes with taste, sometimes with a profusion which taste rejects, were intended to tempt the imperial eyes to behold the loyalty and good faith of the Londoners, and their purpose to do all that belonged to them in maintaining the *entente cordiale*. While the multitudes along the course traversed by the royal *cortège* were everywhere great, at some places the crowds were overwhelming. Perhaps the first of these especially multitudinous assemblages met with was at the "Elephant and Castle." As soon as the carriages turned from the New Kent Road, the scene which met the gaze of their occupants was extraordinary: every window, numerous scaffoldings, and the very house-tops swarmed with human beings: all the roads converging upon that spot were filled with great blocks of people—as at a little distance they appeared. From the countless masses wild hurrahs arose, like the voice of many waters; it was sublime—for the shout of an excited, joyous, or triumphant multitude is sublimer than the sounds of sea or storm. The line of progress was by the Westminster Road to Westminster Bridge: many banners flaunted on high on either side; and Astley's Equestrian Theatre was nearly hidden by British, French, Turkish, and Sardinian flags.

The poor old bridge of Westminster, over which many a gay cavalcade and triumphal procession had passed, was supposed to be too frail to sustain an unusual crowd. Measures were taken to prevent a concourse there, or it would have been one of the most closely-occupied spots in the long line of progress. The bridge was profusely decorated with the flags of the allied nations. Parliament Street was most tastefully ornamented, throughout its extent flags and floral displays were richly and elegantly exhibited. From this point of view the appearance of the multitudes all along Whitehall to Trafalgar Square was very striking, for there is no sight so commanding as a multitudinous people, as there is no sound so sublime as their voice. On this occasion, one could not but feel that the sight of the mighty concourse was even awing. No city in

the universe could assemble such well-dressed numbers, nor such numbers of any degree or quality. London had poured out that day all that were available of her three millions; and whatever may be the grandeur of the gay and gaudy capital of continental Europe, it could produce no such sight as met the eyes of the emperor, and those of the fair partner of his triumph, on that day. In Whitehall there was a grand display of the flags of all nations, the enemy's alone excepted. The government buildings were very gay. Over the portico of the Admiralty a military band performed French and British national airs. The Chapel-Royal, Horse Guards, and other public buildings, and the line of Richmond Terrace, were fitted up with seats, which were occupied by the *élite* of English society. Their reception of the imperial guests, especially of the empress, was most enthusiastic, and her fair face glowed with satisfaction as she bowed in acknowledgment of their plaudits. Trafalgar Square afforded a convenient stand-point, from its wide area and the facility afforded by its elevation: it was literally packed with an excited but most orderly multitude. Both the emperor and empress were struck with the vast concourse which came within range of their vision; and the acclamations which shook the air greatly affected the imperial visitors, who expressed to his royal highness their sense of the great cordiality shown to them.

The line of carriages passed through crowded streets—crowded from the kerbstones to the housetops—until they reached Hyde Park Corner. It is said that the emperor pointed out to the empress the street leading into St. James's Street, where he had humble lodgings, when, seven years before, he was an exile residing in London. On the 10th of April, 1848, he turned out, baton in hand, to serve as a special constable, when the Chartists, under the guidance of the unfortunate Fergus O'Connor, threatened an invasion of London. Seven years and one week, save a day, had elapsed since he was thus obscure; and it was reserved for him to pass through the streets of the great city, guarded by the household troops of her majesty, her guest, and the companion of her consort, while her whole people turned out to confirm her invitation, and add to the honours she had reserved for him. *O tempora mutantur, et mutantur cum illos!* When the illustrious visitors entered Hyde Park, an entirely new scene awaited them. Comparatively few of the lower classes were there; but nowhere else in Europe could such an array of carriages and horsemen be presented. The writer of this History took up his position near the Magazine, where a tolerable opportunity of seeing the procession was offered; but so dense were the carriages and the equestrians,

that persons attending on foot were much impeded. The imperial pair, with Prince Albert, were seated in an open barouche. Six of the royal carriages, each drawn by four horses, and attended by outriders, conveyed the visitors and suite to the Great Western Station. The pace was too rapid for the gratification of the people, and the respect due to their efforts to make them welcome. This, of course, was no fault of their imperial majesties. Immediately on the arrival of the royal and imperial party at the Paddington Station they proceeded to Windsor, where they arrived at seven o'clock. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Prince of Leiningen, received her guests, who alighted at the grand hall. The band of the 94th regiment played the French national anthem. In passing from the railway-station at Windsor to the castle, the illustrious company occupied several beautiful pony-carriages, and the population welcomed them with the same enthusiasm as in every other place since their landing. The yeomen of the guard lined the guard hall and staircase, under Captain Maedonald, the exon in waiting—the other officers of the corps being also in attendance. The great officers of state, and of the household, in levée-dress, and the ladies and maids of honour in waiting, were in attendance with the queen at the grand hall. Viscount Palmerston and the Earl of Clarendon were the members of the cabinet present. The royal and imperial group passed up the grand staircase, through the music-room, into the throne-room, where the younger members of the royal family were assembled, and where the ladies and gentlemen of the household were presented. The members of the different households then retired to their private apartments. Her majesty gave a dinner in the evening in St. George's Hall, which was attended by the band of the Grenadier Guards. The queen's private band afterwards performed in the music-room. The state apartments of the castle were appropriated to the royal guests.

The next day was one of the finest April days ever seen in England. The Emperor and Empress, the Queen and Prince Albert, walked upon the slopes. The approaches to the castle were crowded. Every train from London brought down new accessions to the numbers which, from all the surrounding country, thronged Windsor. At three o'clock the mayor and corporation arrived at the castle to present an address. They were conveyed in nine carriages, the first of which was a superb equipage, and was occupied by the mayor and recorder; then followed the state-carriage of the Lord Mayor of London, with those of the sheriffs, and members of the court of lieutenancy.

The following address was read by the recorder:—

"May it please your imperial majesty,—We, her Britannic majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, most respectfully beg leave to approach your imperial majesty with our sincere and hearty congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and your imperial consort in our country, and on your visit to our gracious monarch at the long-favoured seat of the sovereigns of this country.

"We avail ourselves of this auspicious occasion to assure your imperial majesty that we have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the alliance which has been formed between your majesty and our beloved queen in defence of the sovereign rights of an independent state which have been unjustly violated. We feel that the war, in which your majesty has exhibited so much judgment, ability, and disinterested generosity, is just in principle, that it was not rashly or hastily commenced, and is now only pursued in defence of an oppressed people, and for the establishment and maintenance of a safe and durable peace.

"We have not failed to observe, with sentiments of respect and sympathy, the admirable skill, indomitable courage, and extraordinary endurance which have been manifested by the valiant soldiers of France in the present struggle, whereby they have more than maintained that glorious renown which their forefathers reaped in a hundred battles; nor have we been indifferent spectators of the kindness and cordiality which so happily exist between the armies of France and England, now fighting together in one common cause; and we earnestly hope that the warriors of both nations may henceforth be found contending side by side for the honour, safety, and advancement of France and England, and the peace and happiness of the world. We trust that now, under the guidance of your imperial majesty and our illustrious sovereign, a union will be formed which will bind the two countries in an indissoluble bond of cordial and lasting friendship.

"We are sensible, sire, that to the wisdom and vigour of your imperial majesty's councils, and to your unceasing endeavours to promote the truest interests of the powerful and generous nation which Providence has committed to your care, may be attributed that prosperity and happiness which your country now so fully enjoys; and we venture to augur that, by encouraging a friendly and personal intercourse between your imperial majesty and the sovereign of Great Britain, your majesty adopts the surest means, not only of strengthening a happy and stable alliance between the two

countries, but of sustaining the liberties and civilisation of Europe.

"May your imperial majesty and your illustrious consort long live to enjoy every domestic and personal blessing, and the loyalty and attachment of an admiring and grateful people.

"Given under the common seal of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, at the Guildhall, in the said borough, on the 9th day of April, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, and in the year of our Lord, 1855."

To this his imperial majesty replied:—

"MR. MAYOR,—I am very much pleased with the sentiments contained in your address; and I trust that the alliance so happily formed will last for many, many years. I thank you for the hearty reception I have met with in your town; but I am sure I cannot take it to myself so much as to the circumstance of my being the guest of your queen. I was much gratified by what I witnessed last night in your town; and I beg that you will express to the inhabitants of Windsor how highly pleased I was with their kindness and attention."

The lieutenancy, deputations from the London merchants and bankers, and the representatives of other public bodies, then presented addresses, which were not of sufficient historical interest to publish here. In each case his majesty delivered an appropriate extempore reply.

After the withdrawal of the corporation and the deputations, there was a review in the Great Park of a small brigade of cavalry, consisting of the 2nd Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards Blue, and the 6th Dragoon Guards, or Carbiniers, and two troops of Royal Horse Artillery. The ground was kept by the 94th regiment of the line. The queen and empress attended in an open carriage. The Earl of Cardigan commanded the troops. The French emperor rode between Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge. His imperial majesty and the prince consort were attired in the uniforms of field-marsals of their respective nations. The number of persons on the ground was enormous, and they received with great enthusiasm the illustrious *cortège*, the military bands playing "*Partant pour la Syrie*." After the review there was a sham cavalry action; and the emperor highly complimented Lord Cardigan on the manner in which the manœuvres were conducted.

In the evening there was a grand dinner-party in St. George's Hall; and the evening party which followed was most numerous filled with aristocratic guests.

On Wednesday her majesty held a chapter

of the garter, for the purpose of investing the emperor with the insignia of the order. The queen wore on this occasion her celebrated diadem of brilliants. The *Court Circular* afforded the following account:—

"The knights companions were called over according to their order of seniority:—The Marquis of Exeter, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Cleveland, Earl de Grey, the Marquis of Hertford, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Earl of Aberdeen. The officers of the order present were—the Bishop of Winchester, prelate; the Bishop of Oxford, chancellor; the Hon. and very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, registrar; Sir Charles George Young, garter king-of-arms; and Sir Augustus Clifford, gentleman usher of the black rod. The knights appeared in the mantle and collar of the garter, and the officers wore their respective robes, with their chains and badges.

"The knights companions and officers entered the throne-room, and took their seats at the table, the queen being seated in a chair of state at the head, a second (vacant) chair of state being on the right hand of her majesty. The prelate of the order stood on the right of the queen, the chancellor on the left, while the registrar, garter, and black rod, remained at the bottom of the table. The ceremony commenced by the chancellor reading a new statute, by command of the queen, dispensing with the existing statutes of the Order of the Garter, in as far as was required for the especial purpose therein mentioned, and ordaining and declaring that his Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, be declared a knight of this order, any statute, decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

"By the queen's command the Emperor of the French was conducted from his apartments through the music-room, and grand reception-room, between his royal highness Prince Albert, and his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, the two senior knights companions present, preceded by the garter king-of-arms (bearing the ensigns of the order upon a crimson velvet cushion), and by black rod. The queen and the knights of the garter received his imperial majesty standing; and the emperor, passing to the head of the table, took a seat in the chair of state on the right hand of her majesty.

"Her imperial majesty the Empress of the French, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, her royal highness the Princess Royal, his royal highness Prince Alfred, her royal highness the Princess Alice, and their royal highnesses the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary, had been conducted to the

throne-room before the entrance of the queen, in order to witness the ceremony.

"The empress and the Duchess of Cambridge were ushered to seats near the throne. The queen announced to the emperor of the French that his imperial majesty had been elected a knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. Garter king-of-arms, kneeling, presented the garter to the sovereign, and her majesty, assisted by his royal highness Prince Albert, buckled it on the left leg of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. Garter king-of-arms presented the riband with the George, and the queen put the same over the left shoulder of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. The queen then gave the accolade to the emperor, and his imperial majesty received the congratulations of his royal highness Prince Albert, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, his serene highness the Prince of Leiningen, and each of the knights companions present. The chapter being thus ended, the knights companions were again called over by garter, and retired from the presence of the sovereign with the usual reverences.

"Her majesty accompanied the emperor to his apartments, followed by the empress and Prince Albert, and attended by the ladies and gentlemen of the royal suites. The queen and prince afterwards returned to their own rooms.

"A guard of the honourable corps of Gentlemen-at-arms, under the command of Major Harmar, the standard-bearer, was in attendance upon her majesty the queen at the chapter-room, and a special guard of honour of the honourable corps, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Topham. The lieutenant was on duty in attendance upon his imperial majesty the emperor of the French at his apartments and at the chapter-room. The yeomen of the guard, under the command of Captain Macdonald, the exon in waiting, lined the grand staircase, the vestibule, and the music-room. The queen's footmen, in state-liveries, were stationed in the vestibule.

"The queen gave a state dinner in the evening, at which all the gentlemen appeared in uniform or court dress, the members of orders of knighthood wearing their respective ensigns. The magnificent service of gold plate was used on this occasion. The middle of the table was adorned with a number of beautiful *épergnes* and vases in gold, while on two buffets, at each end of St. George's Hall, in which the banquet was served, were displayed, on a background of rich crimson, a variety of beautiful specimens of art in the precious metals, in shields, tankards, jewelled cups, vases, tazzi, and other articles of *vertu* in the royal collection."

The buffets and the table were brilliantly lit by numerous wax-lights in candelabra of

silver-gilt, the St. George candelabrum forming the centre ornament. Opposite the candelabrum at the table were seated her majesty the queen, and his imperial majesty the emperor of the French; and on the opposite side her imperial majesty the empress, and his royal highness Prince Albert. The festivities of the evening were brilliant, exceedingly suggestive of some gorgeous fairy tale. It was remarkable that the insignia worn by the emperor on this occasion was that worn by Louis XVIII. and Charles X., when similar honours were conferred upon them.

On Thursday morning their royal and imperial majesties visited the city. They left Windsor at a little after eleven o'clock, and proceeded by the South-western Railway to the queen's private station at Nine Elms. They were received there by the directors, the band of the Coldstream Guards performing the national anthems of England and France. The Grenadier Guards kept the ground, and a squadron of the 1st Life Guards formed the escort. The illustrious party went along the Wandsworth Road to Vauxhall Bridge, along Millbank, Parliament Street, to the Horse Guards; through the Horse Guards and St. James's Park to Buckingham Palace. Multitudes thronged the way, and their utterances of welcome rose in one perpetual shout. The state bands of the Life Guards were stationed in the front of the palace, and performed the national anthems dedicated to the two sovereigns. The Duke of Wellington, and other officers of the household, received their majesties with the appropriate ceremonies. The emperor and empress left Buckingham Palace at half past one o'clock, *en route* to the city Guildhall, there to meet the citizens of London, and accept their welcome. Their majesties and suite proceeded in seven of the royal carriages through the Mall of St. James's Park to the Horse Guards, thence to Charing Cross, along Whitehall. The fineness of the day contributed to the glory of the scene which was presented in this triumphal course. From Charing Cross to Temple Bar, probably the greatest collection of persons were assembled which ever before thronged that approach to the city. Within the city, the gathering appeared, if possible, greater. All the way from Charing Cross, the royal carriages passed beneath a canopy of gaudy flags and banners, which overhung the streets. The emperor, and his delicate and amiable-looking empress, were much affected by these demonstrations of friendship and cordial alliance. Their arrival at the Guildhall was the occasion for the grandest display of popular and civic hospitality. The Royal Horse Guards preserved order; military bands were duly stationed. A splendid canopy covered the whole area of

the building, which was decorated in most costly style. The corporation was assembled, and many of the nobility, the ministers, the foreign ambassadors, and foreigners of distinction, obtained positions to witness the presentation.

At ten minutes past two their majesties arrived, and were at once conducted to the throne prepared for them. The recorder (who was surrounded by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and various members of the court of common council) read the address which had been prepared by command of the corporation. It was as follows:—

“May it please your majesty,—We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, desire to offer to your majesty our heartfelt congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and the empress of the French in this country as the guests of our most gracious queen; and on behalf of our fellow-citizens and ourselves, we humbly tender to your majesties the warmest expression of our gratitude for the welcome visit by which you have deigned to honour our city on this memorable day.

“The attention of Europe and the world is already fixed on the attitude of dignity and united strength displayed by France and Great Britain in the present war, and the coming of your majesty, invited by our beloved queen at such a time, will draw closer the bonds of mutual friendship and common interests so happily uniting the two countries.

“The cordial alliance of two such mighty powers, cemented and sealed by intimate and frank intercourse between their rulers, must sway the destinies of all, will abate the pride of our common enemies, increase the confidence of our allies, and give new vigour to our arms.

“By the wise policy of your majesty’s reign, all our ancient jealousies have been appeased, and the flags of France and England now mingle their colours alike in the Baltic and in the East. Ranged together in a righteous cause, braving like hardships, and shedding their blood side by side in victory, the soldiery of our united armies, and the seamen of our combined fleets, have learned to regard each other with the love of brave and generous comrades, second only to the love they bear their respective countries; and while such are the feelings, we rejoice that sentiments akin to these are growing daily, and sinking deeply into the breasts of the people of these great and neighbouring nations.

“None can doubt that the allied forces thus animated, led in perfect harmony by commanders of tried skill and valour, and guided by united counsels at home, will achieve by arms the just and ambitious objects of the

present war; unless, as we may hope, the efforts of assembled statesmen shall yet avert the calamities of protracted warfare by the speedier negotiation of an honourable and enduring peace.

“This cordial reception, therefore, of the chosen and puissant emperor of the French by the illustrious sovereign who reigns over these realms, and lives in the hearts of the British people, we regard as a type of a close and lasting friendship between the two nations, and the happiest augury of a returning time, when, undisturbed in the onward course of civilisation, the nations of Europe may again lay aside the sword, and resume their exalted rivalry in the works of beneficence alone.

“We are earnestly anxious further to express to your imperial majesty the lively pleasure and respectful admiration with which we have seen you accompanied, on this happy occasion, by your illustrious consort, her majesty the empress of the French. We tender to your majesty the expression of our confident hope that you may ever find, in the affections of domestic life, the best solace and support this world can afford, under the cares and weights of the high destiny you are now fulfilling with such conspicuous power and moderation, and we fervently pray that life and health may, by the blessing of Providence, be vouchsafed to your majesties for many years to come.”

The emperor, having received the address from the hands of the recorder, proceeded to read his reply. He said:—

“MY LORD MAYOR,—After the cordial reception I have experienced from the queen, nothing could affect me more deeply than the sentiments towards the empress and myself to which you, my lord, have given expression on the part of the city of London; for the city of London represents available resources which its wide commerce affords both for civilisation and for war.

“Flattering as are your praises, I accept them, because they are addressed much more to France than to myself. They are addressed to a nation whose interests are to-day everywhere identical with your own. They are addressed to an army and a navy united to your own by heroic companionship in danger and in glory. They are addressed to the policy of the two governments, which is based on truth, on moderation, and on justice.

“For myself, I have retained on the throne the same sentiments of sympathy and esteem for the English people that I professed as an exile, while I enjoyed here the hospitality of your country; and if I have acted in accordance with my convictions, it is that the interests of the nation which has chosen me, no

less than those of universal civilisation, have made it a duty. Indeed, England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics, and of human progress, that agitate the world, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Mediterranean—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—from the desire to abolish slavery to the hope of amelioration for all the countries of Europe. I see in the moral, as in the political world, that there are two nations—but one course and one end.

"It is, then, only by narrow considerations and pitiful rivalries that our union can be discovered. If we follow, then, the dictates of common sense alone, we shall be sure of the future.

"You are right in interpreting my presence among you as a fresh and convincing proof of my energetic co-operation in the prosecution of the war, if we fail in obtaining an honourable peace. Should we so fail, although our difficulties may be great, we may surely count upon a successful result—for not only are our soldiers and our sailors of tried valour—not only do the two countries possess within themselves unrivalled resources, but above all—and here lies the superiority—it is because they stand in the van of generous and enlightened ideas.

"The eyes of all who suffer rise instinctively towards the West, because the two nations are even more powerful from the opinions which they represent, than from their armies and their fleets.

"I am deeply grateful to your queen for affording me this solemn opportunity of expressing to you my own sentiments, and those of France, of which I am the interpreter.

"I thank you, in my own name and in that of the empress, for the kind and hearty cordiality with which you have received us. We shall take back to France with us the lasting impression made on minds thoroughly able to appreciate the very imposing spectacle which England presents, where virtue, on the throne, directs the destinies of a country under the empire of liberty without danger."

Their majesties, the Duke of Cambridge, the cabinet ministers, foreign ambassadors, and various distinguished persons were then conducted to the council-chamber, where an elegant *déjeuner* was prepared, and where the freedom of the city was presented to his majesty.

The queen, with the good taste so characteristic of her, was from the first opposed to an invitation to her and the prince, lest honours should be divided, which she desired to be wholly given to her illustrious visitors.

During the *déjeuner*, and afterwards, their majesties chatted familiarly, and with that grace which is so natural to all ranks in France,

among the groups of noble and civic persons assembled around them. His majesty noticed Sir Charles Fox among the spectators, whom he beckoned to his side, and shook hands with him. While *en route* from the council-chamber to the hall, where many pictures of the Buonaparte family were hung, his majesty's eye caught a fine portrait of Hortense, his mother. He paused for a moment, gazed at it, and exclaimed, "This is indeed kind!" Their majesties proceeded from the Guildhall to the Albert Gate of Hyde Park, Knightsbridge, the residence of Count Walewski, the French Ambassador. The imperial *cortège* entered the Park at Hyde Park Corner, passing to the embassy from the park. This was, probably, the most brilliant portion of the day's spectacle. The whole way through the park, from the statue of Achilles to the French embassy, was lined with household infantry, and a splendid escort of the Life Guards relieved that which had attended the emperor to the city. The emperor appeared in high spirits, and greatly pleased; the empress was pale, and seemed fatigued; but her countenance was suffused with pleasure, while, during a long detention of her carriage before the park aspect of the embassy, she was enthusiastically greeted by all assembled there. At the embassy, the emperor received the respects of all the foreign ambassadors. The occupant of that noble mansion, the Count Walewski, and his beautiful countess, partook largely of the popular good feeling. The ambassador had seen alternations of prosperity and adversity, corresponding with those which the emperor had experienced. A Pole by birth, and by repute connected with the Buonaparte family, he took part in the Polish revolution of 1831, arrived an exile in France, and there found a glorious elevation. Some time after the visit of the emperor to England, he became minister of foreign affairs, and presided at the peace conference, by which, in another year, this great war was terminated. An American review then contained the following striking notice of him:—

"Within the walls of a sumptuous mansion on the Boulevard des Capucines sits the Count Walewski, the Emperor Louis Napoleon's minister of Foreign Affairs. There is a costly banquet spread, and the minister presides. The band of Guides, in their ravishing uniforms, inspire the feast. On the right of the count sits the representative of Russia; on his left, the head-servant of Windsor Castle. Indiscriminately disposed, appear the various plenipotentiaries, members of the diplomatic corps, members of the imperial cabinet, and other high functionaries of state. The Count Walewski, the dessert being laid, rises with pictorial gravity, and, in the midst of all this

golden light, this military music, this fragrant profusion of the vineyard and Hyperides, proposes to these dazzling notables and nobles, the durability of the peace they have just signed with the jewelled quill of the eagle of the *Jardin des Plantes*—the imprisoned bird of his Olympian master.

“Stealing through the city of Berlin in disguise, footworn and befouled, with blood-shot eyes, roving everywhere like a suspected thief, with ears erect, watching every syllable uttered in the streets through which, as instinct or genius prompts, he passes with quick or tardy pace, there is an outlawed man, dogged by the police of Monsieur de Manteuffel, the Matsell of the Prussian capital. A Polish rebel, up to his neck in treason, he journeys to Paris, as Ignacio Commonfort came hither, a few months ago, for the sinews of war and sympathy. He gets clear of Prussia—baffles the police of Monsieur de Manteuffel—runs other risks—extricates himself from all—throws off his rags and mask—leaps, with the agility of a Mazzaroni, into the renovated livery of the empire—and sits there on the Boulevard des Capucines, the minister of Foreign Affairs, the Count Walewski. Yet, on the police-sheets of Berlin, and many smaller towns, from the Vistula to the Elbe, the written instructions of Monsieur de Manteuffel, to arrest ‘an adventurer, styling himself Walewski,’—for these are the precise words,—still remain. Times change. In your old age, look out, Walewski, for the police of Berlin!”

In the evening, her majesty and the prince consort, with her guests, visited the Italian Opera, London being gorgeously illuminated. The scene was especially grand as the royal carriages emerged from St. James's Palace into Pall Mall West. The clubs and private houses were brilliantly illuminated with every imaginable device indicative of alliance with France, and resolution to carry on the war. As the carriages left the palace gates of St. James's, the multitude, who crowded every available space, raised one of the most deafening cheers we ever heard on any public occasion, even when a mighty concourse of people were most enthusiastic.

On Friday the scene of imperial and royal interest was the Crystal Palace. About 30,000 persons were assembled on the terrace; and when the queen and prince, emperor and empress, appeared on the gallery overlooking the beautiful grounds, and the multitude below, it was indeed a scene to remember for ever.

In the evening her majesty gave a concert at Buckingham Palace, where a brilliant throng of the *élite* of the land, and brave men and fair women from many lands, were assembled. Her majesty was dressed in blue silk, with five flounces of white lace, and wore a small

crown of rubies and diamonds, with white feathers. The empress wore a brilliant head-dress of diamonds, and her attire was at once costly and chaste. The emperor wore the uniform of a French general officer. Prince Albert was dressed in that of the British Rifle Brigade. The emperor displayed, for the first time since his investiture “the garter.” Supper was served on the celebrated gold plate, the display of which, on a lofty buffet lined with crimson, as well as in the supper-service, was dazzling in the extreme.

On Saturday the imperial guests took their leave of her majesty, and departed from Windsor, accompanied by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge, who bid them adieu at Dover, amidst a salute from the guns of the fleet. Their majesties arrived safely at their destination; and who was there in France or England that did not feel that Waterloo was at last avenged? No Englishman who visited France, or elsewhere had much intercourse with Frenchmen during the previous forty years, but must have perceived that to avenge Waterloo had been the darling passion of the French nation. We doubt even if the army was actuated by this desire more strongly than the people at large. The *bourgeoisie*, as a class, would, for the sake of peace, by which their trade might improve, forego this vengeful wish; but even amongst them the memory of Waterloo rankled and festered at the heart. Nor can we wonder at this. That victory imposed upon France the government of a dynasty made hateful by bigotry and oppression. The Bourbons of 1815 were no better than those of 1792—indeed they were not so good; for in 1792 the royal family, whatever its sins, had a love for France, but in 1815 they cared for nothing but their own interests, which were propped up solely by foreign bayonets. Whatever the demerits of the great Napoleon, he was the man of the people's choice. He was thoroughly a representative man: he was the incarnation of the pride, passion, infidelity, intellect, and glory of France. He even represented in his own predilections, opinions, and policy, the strangely-blended despotism and freedom of the French mind. France did not understand liberty for herself, or toleration for others; and yet there was a hatred of tyranny, and a love of equality of citizenship, which are potent ingredients of social liberty. Napoleon represented everything that was French to so great an extent as to be the expression to the world of the national heart: where he failed to do this he failed to rule; and partly through this failure he ceased to reign. Had he, at the epoch of his fall, more completely regarded the national will, and been more completely its representative, humanly speaking, he had not fallen. Even Waterloo, if irreparable, and

although it had brought down the imperial eagle with broken wing, had not extinguished its life and power, if a large portion of the French people were not made to feel that the imperial policy was selfish, and that Napoleon was ceasing to rule for France, and waging only the war of a dynasty.

It is doubtful whether France would have ever seen a great military despotism, but for the mistaken policy of England. The French revolution was just. It was as righteous a revolt as our own revolution against James II. England was popular amongst the revolutionists, and they desired her co-operation, and, we had almost said, protection, in forming a government, which should be based on principles more nearly resembling her own (if that be possible) than even those of the American United States. But the policy of England was directed by a party inimical to all liberty—and there was no despotism too grinding amongst the nations of the Continent for that party to foster. England, thus controlled, spurned the alliance of free France, and leagued herself with continental absolutists against the young life and prospects of a country yearning to be free. The wealth of England was lavished in attempts to create confusion and conspiracy, and many of the horrid excesses which popular fury committed were the result of the exasperation thus created in the mind of France;—a fierce and terrible policy against all who favoured the despotic system upheld by England became necessary to the very existence of the French republic.

The foreign policy of the republic became necessarily propagandist; she did, as we do ourselves with our constitutionalism, and as Russia and Austria do with their absolutism—she encouraged the republican tendencies in surrounding nations, and sought to increase her own strength by their sympathies, and their successful revolt against their own oppressors. Out of this state of things solely grew the wars of French aggrandisement and conquest, upon the fiery chariot of which Napoleon stood, the wonder and the terror of the world. England was obliged ultimately to battle for her own national integrity, in a war which she did much to originate, for the destruction of every liberty claimed by the nation against which at last she had to summon all her resources to make head. Waterloo was the final stroke of England, therefore, in a contest which not only secured her own freedom, but struck down that of France. England and the Bourbons became to France the great obstructions, not only to her glory but to her liberty, and Waterloo was the *shibboleth* of her oppressors. Whether her own government might be republican or monarchical—and, if the latter, whether hereditary and constitu-

tional, or imperial and elective—were all questions for her to settle within herself, and the word “Waterloo” at once repressed all hope of her ever realising that power. In these views of the theory of public feeling in France toward England, we have the support of the most competent men of the past and present generations. Henry Lord Brougham, himself, endorsed them; and that enlightened politician James Montgomery, the bard of Sheffield, battled through many years of his political life to enforce them, and even endured incarceration under the allegation of having sung them, when it was treason to recall England to consistency with herself and justice to France. These views have been recently confirmed in the way of narrative, by the author of *The Reign of Terror; or, the Diary of a Volunteer of the Year II. of the French Republic*, translated by Mr. Samuel Copland; in fact, the time arrived when the injustice of our attack upon the first French revolution was admitted by the general sentiment of England, and proclaimed by her policy.

The restored Bourbon was hurled from his throne; a younger and more corrupt branch of that house—that of Orleans—in its turn deceived France, and was swept away. Again, a republic arose, the success of which would have undoubtedly been certain, but for the intrigues of a section of the priesthood. While the ultra-montane party contemplated a *coup d'état*, which must have consigned liberty and Napoleonism together to persecution, the representative of the house of Buonaparte seized the reins of power; and, amidst the acclamations of France, and of the liberal portion of the clergy, proclaimed his government as that of Napoleon III. England changed her policy. She had expended countless millions to put down republicanism in France without success, and at last public opinion there, without foreign interference, raised an empire upon its ruin. England had added to the expenditure of her treasure and her blood wasted in warring against the republic, a fresh drain of both to put down the empire; and seizing its mighty chief with mightier hand, chained him, as a fettered eagle, upon the loneliest rock in the ocean. That empire was re-established in the person of his legitimate successor, and England made alliance with him; her armies and his confronted together a common enemy; her fleets and his mingled their pennants within the sinuous Baltic, the embosomed Euxine, and far off upon the boundless Pacific. And after a brilliant visit, in which a hospitable welcome was accorded, he and his beautiful empress—as guests whose departure was regretted—left the halls of Windsor, where the ancient lineage of English royalty had held their proud estate

for ages! Verily, Waterloo was avenged!—avenged in the most noble way a people can avenge an injury—by obtaining the honourable and peaceful recognition of all they had fought to gain. Yes, it was true that multitudes assembled in Trafalgar Square, at the foot of the monument erected to England's mightiest naval chief, by whom the fleets of France were scattered as wrecks before the storm—and from the voice of that multitude a shout of welcome arose, as the heir of the once-vanquished Napoleon emerged from Whitehall! What must have been his feelings, and hers who shares his destiny, when passing under the statue of the great Wellington, to and from Buckingham Palace, they beheld so gorgeous a proclamation of the fact that all the policy which England's mightiest military hero conquered to accomplish, was thus peaceably and harmoniously ignored? Was it for this that the pride and chivalry of France were rolled back from the heights of Busaco to the gates of Toulouse—and from ensanguined Waterloo to the gates of Paris—that beneath the arch which bears the statue of the conqueror the heir of the vanquished should ride in triumph? Did the fair empress cast her eye upon Apsley House—upon the statue of Achilles, fronting within the park the arch before which the equestrian statue of the hero of Waterloo is so proudly elevated without—and remember that all these things were erected because of Waterloo; and that in the gay *cortège* a Duchess of Wellington added beauty and honour to her train, without feeling that Waterloo was avenged?—and thus may such deeds ever be avenged, amidst national friendships, hospitalities, and peace!

The author of these pages happened to see, on the Friday, the emperor and his queenly bride alight at their own house at the Albert Gate—the house of the French embassy. We stood below, while a British band played the national air of France, and while the emperor and his bride (of British lineage), from the windows of the drawing-room, stood, and returned salutations to the crowd of fashionable persons who waved their hats and offered their greetings from the park beneath. Happy sight!—to behold the resolute brow of a Napoleon illumined with pleasure by English cordiality, and his hard features softened and relieved by the reflection of her sweetness, grace, and beauty who stood beside him—we hope the emblem of future France—the very expression of modesty, taste, and gentle goodness. Yes, Waterloo was avenged, and we, upon whom it was avenged, share the glory and aid the triumph.

In a week after the emperor left the English shores, he was fired at by an assassin. His majesty, accompanied by his equerries, Colonel

Ney and Valabreque, left the Palace of the Tuileries, about five o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 28th of April, to take his customary ride in the Champs Elysées, and overtake the empress, who had preceded him, and was then in the Allée Dauphine, in the Bois de Boulogne. While riding slowly through the grand avenue, a man advanced from the throng, on the promenade, to within five or six paces of the emperor's horse. The intended assassin saluted, and the emperor raised his hand to return the salutation, when the man drew from beneath his paletot a pistol, and fired; the shot missed, but the pistol had a double barrel, and the fellow immediately rested the pistol on his arm, and fired again. In all probability, the horse saved his majesty; the animal shied at the report of the first pistol, and, by this means changing suddenly the position of his majesty, averted the aim of the second shot. The man was prepared for such a contingency; for drawing a second pistol of the same form from beneath his coat, he was about to discharge it, when the spectators rushed upon him, and a police-agent being at hand, he was at once secured. The ruffian desperately struggled, endeavouring to fire into the faces of those who held him, so that the officer of police was twice obliged to wound him with a poignard before he was rendered incapable of mischief. The people would have killed him, but for the presence and authority of the emperor. When taken to the civic guard-house, at the Barrière de l'Etoile, he was found to be an Italian, named Pinari, and a shoemaker by trade. The emperor displayed the greatest coolness and courage; and as he rode slowly on to the triumphal arch, the crowds of respectable persons who were assembled greeted him with loud acclamations, and every available demonstration of joy, on his escape. Before his majesty overtook the empress, one of his equerries galloped forward to assure her majesty, and offer a detailed relation of the incident. The emperor then gave his horse to a groom, and placing himself beside the empress in the carriage, they drove to the Tuileries, the people hurrying along by the carriage, and uttering shouts of congratulation. Eugénie was overcome by these demonstrations of respect, and the event that caused them, and wept, and laughed hysterically, as the crowd waved their hats, and uttered their hearty congratulations. In the evening, their majesties visited the Opéra Comique, and the house rang with the hearty acclamations of the people upon their entrance.

The next day the gentry of Paris hastened to the Tuileries, to congratulate his majesty on his escape. The representatives of the senate delivered a congratulatory address, to which the emperor made the following most

remarkable extempore reply, and with a tone and emphasis which betrayed the deep earnestness and solemnity of his mind in uttering it:—"I thank the senate for the sentiments it has just expressed to me. I fear nothing from the attempts of assassins; there are existences which are the instruments of the decrees of Providence. As long as I shall not have fulfilled my mission, I run no danger."

The assassin, for such he was in purpose, was a young man, and had borne arms in Italy during 1818-9. His motive, in the criminal attempt he made, was to revenge the destruction of Roman liberty, which had been accomplished by the emperor when president of the French republic. His trial took place on the 7th of May, according to the forms usually observed in criminal cases. The government desired to have him tried for high-treason, but the emperor sagaciously replied, that "the criminal should be proceeded against just as if he had perpetrated the offence against a journeyman plasterer of the Plain of St. Denis." The prisoner was remarkable for his personal beauty; he had a high intellectual forehead, dark expressive eyes, his throat, which he wore bare, was fair and rounded, his hands small, and exquisitely kept. He denied any connection with secret societies, and disclaimed all accomplices. He had evidently no control over his passions, and was in any state of society a dangerous person. He was sentenced to be executed for parricide, for which in French law there is a peculiar punishment. As the emperor would not have him indicted for treason, the judges, less wise and merciful, adopted this legal fiction. It met with general disapprobation, although all men were willing that he should suffer death for his crime. He was led to the scaffold on the 14th of May. As soon as he ascended it, he shouted "*Vive la république!*" and was about to repeat the cry, when the axe fell upon his neck, severing his head from the body.

A glance at the history of the remarkable man, who, escaping the shot of the assassin, only passed through one of the many perils of an eventful life, will here be appropriate. Charles Louis Buonaparte is the third, and only surviving, son of Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, and brother to the great Napoleon. His mother was Hortense, daughter of Josephine, the wife of De Beauharnais, afterwards his widow, then the wife of General Buonaparte, and in course of the vicissitudes which filled up his changeful career, Empress of the French. Victor Hugo, in his intense hostility to Louis Napoleon, endeavours to disgrace Hortense, and to represent the emperor as the child of her intrigue with another than her husband. For this no proof is offered, and, if true, ought not to be used as Victor Hugo

so spitefully and meanly employs it. It is alleged that the infamous Fouché, so long the great emperor's minister of police, is the author of this scandal, and that the separation of Hortense from her husband gave some plausible support to the allegation.

The subject of this notice was born in Paris, on the 20th of April, 1808, seven months after the final separation of his parents. He was the first prince born of Napoleon's house, and the birth gave the illustrious uncle great joy; all France was called upon to rejoice, and the thunders of her cannon announced the great event to the empire and the world. He "was born" said the emperor, "on the steps of a throne."

In 1810 he was baptised at Fontainebleau. The emperor and the new empress (poor Josephine, ever loving and faithful, was basely and inhumanly repudiated) stood sponsors for him, and the church lent all its pomp to the occasion.

In 1816 the Bourbon dynasty having been restored by the victory of Waterloo, Hortense, having at that time the style and title of Duchess of St. Leu, was exiled, and took up her residence in Bavaria, devoting herself to the tender and anxious culture of her boy. They were persecuted by the Bavarian government, and took refuge in Switzerland. The Bourbons, unwilling to have them in such near neighbourhood, menaced the Swiss government, and Hortense, to avoid being the cause of any calamity, took her son to Rome. Here the education of the future emperor was committed to very unworthy hands. A certain M. Lebas, son of a confidential partisan of Robespierre, was the tutor; and this political fanatic, rather than survive so glorious a republican, committed suicide.

When, in 1830, a new French revolution expelled the Bourbons once more, the house of Buonaparte assembled in counsel at Rome. There were there associated "Madame Mère," Cardinal Fesch, Jerome Buonaparte, Hortense, and her son Louis Napoleon. The result was, the expulsion of Hortense and Louis Napoleon, then of age, from the Papal States. Louis Napoleon resisted, but an escort of mounted *carabinieri* conducted him to the frontier, beyond which he was compelled to pass. At this time Louis' elder brother was alive, and both the young men took an active part in the revolutionary agitation which broke forth after the French revolution, which seated the infamous Louis Philippe upon the throne of France. The insurgents in the Papal States, and other parts of Italy, looked to the young Buonapartes as leaders. The young men showed courage, and, joining themselves to General Lenognani, repeatedly repulsed the army of the Pontiff. A French fleet, sent out by Louis Philippe, and an Austrian army,

soon decided the fate of the Italians. From the very beginning "*Egalité*" was a traitor to principles he avowed in ascending the French throne. The young Buonapartes were expelled from Italy, but the elder was placed beyond the vengeance of "the powers"—he sickened and died at Faenza, in March, 1831.

Hortense fled from Rome, and her son Louis, disguised as her servant, escaped with her to Cannes. Here Hortense resolved to hasten to Paris, and claim the protection of Louis Philippe from the dangers which surrounded her. Hortense had reason to calculate upon a generous reception, for it was through her influence that the mother and aunt of the Duke of Orleans were permitted to reside in France, during the days of the empire. Nor were her benevolent efforts confined to that, for the emperor, in answer to her entreaties, granted them an income of 600,000 francs to maintain their dignity. Louis Philippe was addressed by Hortense in one of the most touching letters ever written by a mother, a fugitive, and an unhappy woman; he answered by slyly endeavouring to induce her, of her own accord, to leave France. Louis Napoleon begged permission to enter the French army as a private soldier, which was of course refused. Finally, a peremptory and haughty order to mother and son to leave the kingdom, sent them once more wanderers on the face of the earth. They passed over to England. Preferring the Continent, they again found their way to Switzerland, and resided at Arnenberg. In April, 1832, he was elected by the Canton of Thurgovia to the rights of citizenship. He entered the military school of Thun as a volunteer, and studied closely the theory and practice of artillery. He also gave himself to the study of history, and to the policy and opinions of his illustrious uncle. He wrote a work on the subject of artillery, which so pleased the Bernese government that it conferred on him the commission of captain in its regiment of artillery. Thus matters went with him until 1835. During this time Hortense was one of the most affectionate of mothers, and Charles Louis Napoleon one of the most filial of sons. When Madame de Gerardin was married, April 26th, 1834, a letter was addressed to her by Hortense, which is full of sweetness and tenderness, revealing her interesting character; it is also curious from the reference it makes to her son:—

"I found you whole and entire in your charming letter, my dear Delphine," writes Hortense Beauharnais; "tell your husband not to be angry at my calling you by that name—it is the one you bore at Rome and in Switzerland, when you used to repeat to me

your pretty verses, and that I rejoiced in listening to your voice, so expressive and so truly French. You have not then forgotten me? I thank you for it—for I thought that in Paris, people forgot everything. I am glad to hear that the distrust we inspire—too well founded, perhaps, alas!—is not so general as I feared. Certainly I shall be charmed to receive often your works and your letters. You cannot doubt of my pleasure at any mark of your remembrance. I have so often asked, 'Is she married?—is she happy?' You really owed me a reply as satisfactory as the one I have received. I will think over the proposal you make to me. The difficulty will be to find some article that will seem naturally brought about. At this moment my son is writing a work upon artillery—that would not be interesting. Afterwards he means to write something on his uncle; then we may see what he could send you. He is altered since you saw him—grown to be a man; and he makes me very happy by the kindness of his disposition and his noble resignation, which modifies the vivacity of his opinions. I dare not wish our native country for him—for I am too fond of peace; and besides, there where you are feared you cannot possibly hope to be beloved. Assuredly resignation, to no matter what injustice, to no matter what deception, is the virtue best adapted to us. Believe in the delight I should feel in seeing you once more, in making your husband's acquaintance, and in repeating to you the assurance of my affectionate sentiments.

"HORTENSE."

In 1835 a rumour prevailed in Europe that the Queen of Portugal, then a widow, desired Louis Napoleon for a husband. The queen was the widow of his own cousin, the Duke of Leuchtenberg.

In July, 1838, Napoleon resolved to invade France. At Baden he became acquainted with Colonel Vaudrey, commanding the 4th Regiment of Artillery, then at Strasburg, which was the regiment in which the emperor served before Toulon, in the first display of his skill. Vaudrey was a Buonapartist; he had fought at Waterloo, and it was the grand idea of his existence to avenge it. M. de Persigny, so well known since to history, joined his counsels. A number of other persons, officers, nobles, gentlemen, and even ladies, were in intimate association with the project. His gentle mother knew nothing of these plots.

At eleven o'clock at night, on the 28th of October, he arrived at Strasburg, where the conspirators had prepared a small apartment for him, in the Rue de la Fontaine. On the following morning he called on Colonel Vaudrey, and submitted for his approbation a plan

of operations. The colonel would not support it, but adopted one more romantic and less patriotic. At eleven o'clock that night, Louis Napoleon, dressed as a French general of artillery, met the conspirators at a rendezvous agreed upon: they were all in uniform, and had the eagle of the 7th regiment of the line. At six the next morning a message from Colonel Vaudrey was to summon them to action. The prince consumed the night writing proclamations. A few minutes after the clock chimed six, a message arrived that Colonel Vaudrey awaited him. He issued forth—on one side of him M. Parquin, wearing the uniform of a general of brigade, and M. de Quérèlles that of a *chef de bataillon*, and a dozen officers followed. They entered the barracks, and found Colonel Vaudrey, with his regiment under arms, and his sword drawn. Advancing to the soldiers, and pointing to the prince, he exclaimed—"Behold the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon!" He harangued them on the right of the nephew to succeed the uncle, and how much it would be for the glory of France and of the army. He then demanded if the prince could rely upon them, and was responded to by shouts of "*Vive Napoléon!*" "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The prince also addressed the soldiers; and snatching the eagle from M. de Quérèlles, he presented it to the regiment as the emblem of past and coming glory. They then proceeded, with the band playing, to the quarters of General Virol. *En route* the prefect was arrested, and the prince's proclamations were sent to the printers. The movement was popular; the prince was everywhere received with enthusiasm. General Virol refused to join the movement, and endeavoured to bring back the troops to their loyalty; but his authority was defied, and shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" rent the air. The general took to flight.

The expedition—if we may now call it so—quitted the high street, and entered the Barracks of Frukematt by a narrow lane. Here he was hemmed in as in a trap; and should the inmates of the barrack prove loyal to the government, the cause of the prince was desperate. The soldiers flocked out and listened to his harangue, and then rushed in for their arms to rejoin him. Their officers suggested doubts of his identity, and the troops hesitated; this ruined all. An ignominious *fraeas* followed, in which the soldiery on either side were unwilling to wound one another, but which issued in the arrest of the prince and the whole body of the conspirators. Colonel Vaudrey destroyed the chances, which were many, in the prince's favour, by his incompetency. Had Napoleon's own plans been followed, and with the promptitude he desired, the probability was great that he would soon

have been at the head of the French army. The whole party were conveyed to prison, and were interrogated after the manner customary in criminal inquisitions in France. The conduct of the prince before the tribunal was frank, bold, and heroic. His civil jailers treated him barbarously, but his military captors behaved with the greatest consideration. On the 9th of November he was conducted from Strasburg to Paris. On the 21st he was put on board a French frigate, which conveyed him ultimately to America.

The French vessel of war having conveyed the prince to the United States, and landed him at Norfolk, he employed himself there as a good citizen. His private character in American society has been since often inveighed against, especially at New York, to which city he repaired at once, as the most convenient place for prompt communication with his friends in Europe. According to his slanderers he frequented places of the lowest and worst resort, and altogether conducted himself disgracefully. Very recently a satisfactory confutation has been given to such allegations, through the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, by a United States' officer of distinction, whose name is well known to Europe, and who was in frequent, almost constant association with Louis Napoleon, during the whole period of his short residence in the States. The following extracts from this vindication will interest the reader:—

"His favourite topics, when we were alone, were his uncle, the emperor, his mother, and others of his immediate family, in whom he had been deeply interested; his own relations to France by birth and imperial registry; the inducements which led to the attempted revolution at Strasburg; the causes of its failure; and his chief support under the mortification of the result: 'The will of God,' to use his own words, 'through a direct interposition of his Providence; the time had not yet come.'

"He seemed ever to feel that his personal destiny was indissolubly linked with France; or, as his mother, Hortense, expressed it in her will, 'to know his position;' and the enthusiasm with which at times he gave utterance to his aspirations for the prosperity, the happiness, and the honour of his country, and to the high purposes which he designed to accomplish for her as a ruler, amounted, in words, voice, and manner, to positive eloquence. Had I taken notes of some of these conversations, they would be considered now, when his visions of power and earthly glory are realised, scarcely less epigrammatic and elevated in thought, or, as related to himself, less prophetic than many which have been recorded from the lips of the exile of St. Helena.

“He was winning in the invariableness of his amiability, often playful in spirits and manner, and warm in his affections. He was a most fondly attached son, and seemed to idolise his mother. When speaking of her, the intonations of his voice and his whole manner were often as gentle and feminine as those of a woman. It had been his purpose to spend a year in making a tour of the United States, that he might have a better knowledge of our institutions, and observe for himself the practical workings of our political system. With this expectation, he consulted me and others as to the arrangement of the route of travel, so as to visit the different sections of the Union at the most desirable seasons. But his plans were suddenly changed by intelligence of the serious illness of Queen Hortense, or, as then styled, the Duchess of St. Leu, at her castle in Switzerland. I was dining with him the day the letter conveying this information was received. Recognising the writing on the envelope as it was handed to him at table, he hastily broke the seal, and scarce glanced over half a page before he exclaimed, ‘My mother is ill! I must see her. Instead of a tour of the States, I shall take the next packet for England. I will apply for passports to the Continent at every embassy in London, and, if unsuccessful, will make my way to her without them.’ This he did, and reached Arnhem in time to console by his presence the dying hours of the ex-queen, and to receive in his bosom her last sigh.

“After such opportunities of knowing much of the mind and heart, and general character of Louis Napoleon, it was with great surprise that I for the first time read, in a distant part of the world, when he had become an emperor, representations in the public journals of his life in New York (and New Orleans, too, though he was never there), which would induce a belief that he had been, when here, little better than a vagabond—low in his associations, intemperate in his indulgences, and dissipated in his habits. In both eating and drinking he was, so far as I observed, abstemious rather than self-indulgent. I repeatedly breakfasted, dined, and supped in his company, and never knew him to partake of anything stronger in drink than the light wines of France and Germany, and of these in great moderation. I have been with him early and late, unexpectedly as well as by appointment, and never saw reason for the slightest suspicion of any irregularity in his habits.

“Louis Napoleon may have had some associations in New York of which I was ignorant; and he, like Dickens, and other distinguished foreigners, may have carried his observations, under the protection of the police, to scenes in which I would not have accompanied him. If

he did, I never heard of it, and have now no reason to suppose such was the fact. But that he was an *habitué*, as has been publicly reported, of drinking saloons and oyster cellars, gambling houses, and places of worse repute, I do not believe. I can recall to my recollection no young man of the world whom I have ever met, who, in what seemed an habitual elevation of mind, and an invariable dignity of bearing, would have been less at home than he in such associations.

“There was, however, in New York, at the same time, and for about the same period, a Prince Buonaparte, who was, I have reason to think, of a very different character. His antecedents in Europe had not been favourable, and his reputation here was not good. He, too, was in exile, but not for a political offence. He may not have been received in society, and may have had low associations. I met him, but, from this impression, formed no acquaintance with him. For the same reason the intercourse between him and his cousin was infrequent and formal. All that has been said and published of the one may be true of the other; and in search for reminiscences of the sojourn in New York of Louis Napoleon, on his elevation to a throne fifteen years afterwards, it is not difficult to believe that those ignorant of the presence here at the same time, of two persons of the same name and same title, may have confounded the acts and character of the one with the other. This, I doubt not, is the fact; and that however general and firmly established the impression to the contrary may be, the reproach of a disreputable life here does not justly attach itself to him, who is now confessedly the most able, the most fortunate, and the most remarkable sovereign in Europe.

“C. S. STEWART, *U.S. Navy.*”

On the 5th of October Hortense died. If one dare wish the decrees of Providence altered, it would be matter of regret that the daughter of Josephine was not spared to see the son of the one, and grandson of the other, on the imperial throne.

When his mother's funeral obsequies were over, he plunged into political life with renewed vehemence, and the French government became alarmed for his residence contiguous to French territory, and much embarrassment was caused to the confederation in consequence. His partisans in France became bold, and openly justified the attempt at Strasburg. Louis Napoleon employed his pen with much effect, in France and on the Continent. In England his writings were simply ridiculed. The arch-traitor, Louis Philippe, was then the idol of the English middle classes. Success in England gives popularity; merit is unnoticed until it acquires power. In England, of all

places, the scripture sentence is verified—"Men will praise thee when thou doest good to thyself." In September, 1838, Louis Philippe sent a French army to compel the cantons to expel Louis Napoleon. These brave free states prepared to defend themselves; but Napoleon quitted the territory, and the French army marched back again. The prince found a home in England, from which tyrants could not expel him; and he is represented as exclaiming, when he landed on her shores—"Cette grande et généreuse terre d'asile de l'Europe."

He was not long in England, when an insurrection broke out at Barbes. He was represented as having fomented the disturbance; but he, like many another of the great and fallen, made use of the *Times* newspaper for his defence. The affair at Barbes was unhappily sanguinary. He was not hospitably nor generously received in England. Louis Philippe was then one of the most popular men in England; he had not been "found out." The anomalous position of the prince threw him upon inferior society, and what was false as to New York, may have been, to some extent, true as to London. His habits were undoubtedly gay, but he did not abandon his reading and thoughtful ways: he also wrote much.

In August, 1840, he entered upon a new attempt against the throne of the "Citizen King," a title which the mercenary tyrant, who then filled the French throne, assumed for the sake of popularity. The prince embarked on board the *City of Edinburgh* steamer, at Margate. His companions were General Montholon, General Voisin; MM. Conneau, Mesonau, Baccocchi, and others; in all nearly sixty persons. It appears that the party conducted themselves with great insobriety, as if they wished to verify the old song, "We keep our spirits up by pouring spirits down."

On the 6th of August, at dawn, the party landed at Vernercaux, where they were confronted by the officers of customs. The prince offered a splendid reward to the lieutenant of the guard if he would join him with his men; the officer declined. The party moved on to Boulogne, shouting "*Vive l'empereur!*" Money and proclamations were scattered among the fishermen and peasants. It was said that the prince brought with him on this occasion a tame eagle. Entering Boulogne, the invaders proceeded to the heights above the town, and planted a flag, surmounted by an eagle, near the Napoleon Column. The National Guard beat to arms, and the 42nd regiment of the line marched against the expedition, which retreated, endeavouring to gain the vessel in which it came; this was frustrated, and the

whole party was arrested without any resistance, except such as the prince himself made, who fired his pistol close to the face of the commanding officer of the 42nd, which happily missed the officer, but wounded a grenadier who was behind him. One of the prince's attendants got into the sea, and struggled so hard against captivity, that he was killed by those who endeavoured to secure him: several others were wounded, and some severely.

The captives were brought to trial before the court of peers. The prince made an eloquent defence. Perhaps the most remarkable sentence in it was—"One word in conclusion, gentlemen. I represent before you a principle, a cause, and a defeat. The principle—it is the sovereignty of the people; the cause—it is that of the Empire; the defeat—Waterloo! You have recognised the principle—you have served the cause—you would avenge the defeat!"

The eloquence of the defence did not soften, or, at all events, avert the judgment. This was given on the 6th of October, when all the prisoners were convicted, and condemned to various terms of imprisonment: one officer was transported for life. Louis Napoleon was condemned to perpetual incarceration. When he heard the sentence, he replied, "At all events I shall have the happiness of dying in France."

The fortress of Ham was selected for the imprisonment of the unfortunate but intrepid adventurer. His friends, Montholon and Conneau, were incarcerated with him. The treatment he received was vindictive. The crafty and spiteful "Citizen King" would have gladly worn him down by hardship. For nine months every form of indignity was offered to him, and he then complained of the severities he endured. The chambers occupied by the prince were dilapidated, and were those in which Polignac, and the other ministers of Charles X., had been imprisoned: *they*, however, were treated leniently; he, "although the son of a king, nephew of an emperor, and allied to all the sovereigns of Europe" (using his own language), "was pursued by every form of mean and vindictive persecution." Some mitigation of the indignities to which he was exposed was demanded by public opinion in France, to which Louis Philippe was obliged to defer.

The prince engaged himself in journalism, contributing articles to the *Progrès du Pas de Calais*. He also wrote an *Analysis of the Sugar Question*, an essay on the *Extinction of Pauperism*, and *Historical Fragments*.

For five years Napoleon was shut up in this obscurity. Royal amnesties were put forth, but there were none for him. The people of Corsica petitioned that he might be set at liberty: Louis Philippe discarded the petition,

Towards the close of the year 1845, the prince's father, then called Count de St. Leu, requested permission to see his son before his death, which impended. Napoleon appealed to the clemency of the French government for this permission, and pledged his honour that if he were allowed to go to Florence to see his dying father, he would return to his prison-gates again whenever commanded to do so. Louis Philippe, who could do nothing in a manly, open, honourable, straightforward way, began to wriggle over this request, and to contrive some personal advantage from it; he accordingly ordered a paper to be placed in the hands of the prince for his signature, in which he would renounce all pretension to the throne of France, and express his penitence for the attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne. In terms of great boldness and dignity he spurned the demand. Odillon Barrot, and other time-servers of his class, members of the Chamber of Deputies, endeavoured to persuade the prince thus to dishonour himself; but he was firm. He concluded his reply with the remarkable words, "The path of honour is narrow and slippery, and there is but a hand's-breadth between the firm ground and the abyss." The king was obstinate; the prince must not be respited for even so long as to see his dying father.

Three months after he made a successful attempt to escape from the fortress of Ham. This fort was garrisoned by 400 men, furnishing daily sixty soldiers as sentries around the walls. There were three jailers who guarded the principal gate, two being always on duty. It was essential that the fugitive should elude their observation, then traverse the main court before the windows of the residence of the commandant, and thence pass through a gate before which there were sentries. At the time of the escape several rooms were undergoing repairs, so that it was easy to assume the dress of a workman, which the prince did, accommodating his hair and face as much as possible to the apparel: he then took a plank on his shoulder. This occurred on the 25th of May, 1840. The valet took the workmen some drink immediately on their entering, so that Napoleon should not meet any of them. He also was to call one of the jailers, while Dr. Conneau conversed with the other. Scarcely had the prince left his room, before he was spoken to by one of the workmen, who took him for one of his fellow-workers. For the rest of this eventful incident the facts may be best learned from the pen of the fugitive himself, as he afterwards related it to M. Degeorge, then editor of the *Journal de la Somme*:—"At the bottom of the stairs I found myself face to face with the keeper. Fortunately, I placed the plank I was carry-

ing before my face, and succeeded in reaching the yard. Whenever I passed a sentinel, or any other person, I always kept the plank before my face. Passing before the first sentinel, I let my pipe fall, and stopped to pick up the pieces. Here I met the officer on duty; but as he was reading a letter, he paid no attention to me. The soldiers at the guard-house appeared surprised at my dress, and a drummer turned round several times to look at me. I placed the plank before my face, but they appeared to be so curious that I thought I should never escape them, until I heard them cry, 'Oh, it is Bernard!' Once outside, I walked quickly towards the road of St. Quintin. Charles,* who the day before had engaged a carriage, shortly overtook me, and we arrived at St. Quintin. I passed through the town on foot, having thrown off my blouse. Charles procured a post-chaise, under pretence of going to Cambrai. We arrived without detention of any kind at Valenciennes, where I took the railway. I had procured a Belgian passport, but it was nowhere demanded. During my escape, Dr. Conneau, always so devoted to me, remained in prison, and caused them to believe that I was ill, in order to give me time to reach the frontier. It was necessary to be convinced that the government would never set me at liberty before I could be persuaded to quit France, and I would not consent to dishonour myself. It was also a matter of duty that I should exert all my powers to be able to console my father in his old age. Adieu, my dear M. Degeorge. Although free, I feel myself to be most unhappy. Receive the assurance of my sincere friendship, and endeavour to be useful to my kind Conneau if you can."

Dr. Conneau had proved a faithful friend. He had been sentenced for five years, which were about to expire, yet he fearlessly flung himself back again into the hands of the law, in order that the prince might escape. Dr. Conneau's attempts to conceal the prince's departure, so that he might be able to pass the frontier, were ingenious and successful. Our space does not admit of their relation. He was tried, and sentenced to three months' additional imprisonment; the valet, who was captured, to six; the commandant was tried but acquitted. Louis Napoleon did not feel himself quite safe until he was once more in England—"that country" as he had written to Lady Blessington from Ham, "in which I have spent too many happy days not to love." On his arrival in London, he wrote to the French ambassador to assure him of his peaceful intentions, his desire being to see his dying father. The English government informed him, in reply to his request, that he was quite free to live in England if he pleased; but the

* The valet was not treated as a prisoner.

Austrian ambassador would not sign his passport to Italy, and so effectually did the foreign despots hunt the unfortunate fugitive, that his father died in July, without the possibility of the prince reaching his bed-side. Louis Napoleon owes nothing to Austria, but the remembrance of its relentlessness, cruelty, and petty spite. How this power cringed to the same man, when at last he reached the throne!

The prince remained in England until the revolution of 1848 brought him again upon the stage of French affairs. He, in common with the other members of the Buonaparte family, hurried back to France, their proscription being virtually abolished; and Louis Napoleon addressed a sagacious letter to the provisional government, announcing his presence, and proclaiming his loyalty to the new order of things. The provisional government did not believe in his loyalty to republicanism, and they advised him to quit France until the constitution should be established. A few weeks after, it was proposed in the assembly that he was to be excluded from France for life. Against this he protested in language of devotion to the republic. The deputies would not listen to this protest; they showed more jealousy of Napoleon than of the house of Orleans. Public opinion, however, soon compelled them to listen to the prince. During the elections the Seine, the Yonne, and Charente Inférieure placed his name at the head of the poll, the electors shouting "*Vive l'empereur!—à bas la république!*" A number of newspapers were started with expressive titles, such as were very ominous to the republic:—*Le Petit Caporal, Le Bonapartiste, Napoleon Republicain, La Constitution Bonapartienne, La Redingote Grise.*

On Monday, the 12th of June, crowds collected in all the approaches to the Chamber of Deputies, attracted by the expectation that Louis Napoleon would take his place in the assembly. Much uneasiness was felt by the government; the *generale* and the *rappel* were beaten, and the national guard, supported by troops of the line, occupied various positions in Paris, for the purpose of suppressing disturbance. Demonstrations in favour of the prince had been made for several successive evenings previously; the government vigorously suppressed them all, the people dispersing amidst shouts of "*Vive l'empereur!*" "*Vive Louis Napoleon!*" During the evening of the 12th combats occurred in the streets, and Lamartine, rushing into the assembly in an excited state, called out, "Blood has been shed, and the cry is '*Vive l'Empereur Napoleon!*' a law should at once be passed to put a stop to this." Lamartine was only a brilliant theorist—he was not a practical politician, or he would have known that no law

could have "put a stop" to the popular sentiment, for the election of Louis Napoleon to the assembly, and afterwards to the presidency, and finally to the throne.

On the 13th of July the populace renewed their demonstrations in favour of the prince, and the walls of the National Assembly were surrounded with cannon. The people crowded up to the muzzles of the guns, and were only dispersed by charges of cavalry. They then attempted to erect barricades, but were hotly pursued by the troopers and compelled to desist. After protracted discussions in the assembly, a majority decided upon the right of the people to elect whom they pleased to represent them, and as a consequence affirmed that Louis Napoleon could not be refused a seat in the assembly. The prince, however, declined to accept a seat at the cost of distraction and disturbance to France. Soon afterwards he was chosen by the electors of Corsica, but again declined the honour.

On the 17th of September the new elections took place for the places for which he had refused to sit, and he was again elected for all the four. He determined no longer to defer to a minority in the assembly, but to demand his right. At the opening of the sitting on the 25th of October, he accordingly appeared in the assembly, and took his seat. He was declared representative.

The election of president was fixed for the 10th of December, and Louis Napoleon Buonaparte was elected by an overwhelming majority; five and a half millions of Frenchmen voted for him; no other candidate possessed half the number. It has been the fashion to represent this as the result of bribery, and extraordinary efforts on the part of the Buonaparte family and faction. Such representations are simply absurd; he was elected because the majority of the French people preferred a government *à la Napoleon* to any other. On the 20th of December he was called upon to take the oath to the republic. Victor Hugo thus describes the scene:—"It was about four in the afternoon; it was growing dark; and the immense hall of the assembly, having become involved in gloom, the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and candles were placed upon the tribune. The president made a sign, a door on the right opened, and there was seen to enter the hall and rapidly ascend the tribune a man still young, attired in black, having on his breast the badge and riband of the legion of honour."

The form of the oath was as follows:—"In presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfil all the duties imposed upon me by the Constitution."

He afterwards addressed the assembly, declaring that "the suffrages of the people and the oath he had taken imposed duties which as a man of honour he would fulfil." He then shook hands with General Cavaignac, who had so worthily held the reins of power, until the votes of his fellow-citizens deprived him of them in favour of another. The 900 representatives shouted "*Vive la republique!*" as the two great men shook hands together at the foot of the tribune.

From that day the president and the assembly disagreed in every thing; each plotted against the other; and scarcely anything could be more imbecile and unprincipled than the conduct of the assembly. Some were for bringing in the elder Bourbons, some for the Orleanists, others for a democratic and social republic; a few only trod the path of consistency or liberty. The assembly was eager for a *coup d'état* against the president; the latter accomplished the like against them. They initiated the hostilities; he accepted them, and conquered empire.

One of the acts of the assembly sealed its fate. It was elected by universal suffrage—it abolished it. Most of the representatives made a pretence of liberty to crush it. Napoleon perceived this, and demanded the restoration of the people's charter, becoming thereby the people's champion. The assembly ridiculed the demand, the measure, and the president, and threw out the proposal.

On the 1st of December a proclamation was put forth dissolving the assembly, and calling upon the people by universal suffrage to accept a government identical with the scheme of Napoleon I. when first consul. The proclamation made known the desire of the president to surrender his position into the hands of the people, or to accept the headship of a new government on the plan he proposed, and resting on universal suffrage. These proclamations were posted on all the walls of Paris by dawn of the 2nd of December; all the leading men of the assembly were arrested; Paris was filled with troops. After struggles on the part of the assembly, and many casualties in

the streets, the eventful day of the 2nd of December wore away. On the 3rd the people awoke from the stupefaction with which the suddenness of the *coup* struck them, and preparations were made by the republicans and red republicans for resistance. On the 4th that resistance was offered; barricades were erected, and every token of a fierce contest quickened into life. Whenever an opportunity occurred, the soldiery were assassinated, and the military retaliated with savage vengeance. Men, women, and children were swept from the streets by discharges of musketry and grape. By the night of the 4th, the conflict was over. The president ruled all things. The "ticket" put to the electors was as follows:—"The French people wills the maintenance of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte's authority, and delegates to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution on the basis of his proclamation of the 2nd of December." This was to be carried by a simple affirmative or negative by all Frenchmen twenty-one years of age, in possession of their civil rights. On the 20th and 21st of December the ballot took place, and the result was that more than eight millions of men voted in the affirmative. The votes of the army were taken separately. The army in France voted almost unanimously for Buonaparte; in Algiers a large majority was against him. Before twelve months the empire was proclaimed.

On the 22nd of January, 1853, the emperor announced to the senate his intention of marriage with the Countess Téba, a Spanish lady, not of royal descent. He had previously made overtures to several royal families without success. On the 29th of January the civil service was performed in the Tuileries, and on the next day the ecclesiastical ceremony. This lovely and accomplished woman has proved equal to her situation. Eugénie Montijo, Countess Téba, is by birth a Spaniard, and by one line of ancestors is of Scottish descent. She is as amiable and benevolent as she is elegant and beautiful. Whatever be the future of France and the emperor, the name of Eugénie will shed a lustre on both.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

TURKEY DURING THE SPRING OF 1855.

"I saw my sons resume their ancient fire;
I saw fair freedom's blossoms richly blow."—BURNS.

THE language of the Scottish bard very fully applies to the sultan and his subjects at the period of which we now write. The marauding expeditions of the Russians across the Danube had been chastised, although they still crossed the Pruth into the territory garrisoned

by Austria, and inflicted every species of evil with impunity. New dispositions of the Austrian troops, however, prevented these razzias, to some extent—as it was not the policy of Russia to bring her troops into collision with those of Austria, especially while

the conferences at Vienna were approaching or proceeding. Except upon the Armenian borders, the Cossacks did not venture to set foot upon Turkish ground; while a Turkish army invaded the Crimea, and had recently won an important battle there, increasing the moral power of the Turkish government, and inspiring the Osmanli troops with renewed military spirit. Their ancient fire was rekindled, the independence of their country was for the present secured, and confidence was felt that Russia, beaten and balled, would be compelled to surrender all pretensions to interfere with the Porte.

The tidings of the czar's death had been received throughout the Turkish empire with a composure and gravity most becoming, although, for some days after the tidings reached camps and capital, the excitement produced was very great. The people generally expressed no unseemly joy, but quietly repeated that "Allah was great—greater than the czar who was gone to render his account." The sultan received the tidings in a manner as praiseworthy as his people, but it created in his mind false hopes. He believed that peace was at hand—that the successor of Nicholas would desire no unjust concessions, and would not refuse to make such as reason and justice demanded. These impressions caused the Porte to enter upon the Vienna negotiations more willingly, for, previous to the announcement of the czar's death, there was a strong repugnance to negotiate; it was judged that the sword alone could decide the conflict; and that while Turkey had her allies in the field she ought to strike. The incompetency of the representatives of France and England in the previous diplomacy at Vienna, and the subtle treachery of Austria, made the sultan and the government unwilling to send thither any envoy; besides, the cry of the provinces, oppressed by the Austrian occupation, was literally ringing in his ears.

If Russia had a successful competitor in perfidy, Austria was that rival. Both these powers will find their places, on the roll of history, among the most bloody, relentless, rapacious, and treacherous that ever cursed mankind. Austria had throughout the war played a selfish and dishonourable game. Her object was as much to outwit Russia as the allies; her only motive was to gain a disreputable advantage for herself. Even her sympathy with Russia was not one arising from love, or sanctified by principle. She desired the success of Russia to a certain extent, because the Russian form of government was absolute; and in its existence she had always a pledge for her own, by community of interests. She knew that Hungary, Italy, and Poland must

remain chained at her feet, so long as Russia was mighty. Still that power was dangerous, for Austria knew that no principle or sympathy would form an obstruction in the way of Russian plunder and bloodshed; but then Russia has still so many to rob, who were all more easily deprived of their own than Austria was, that the czar could not be so much an object of fear as the liberal and enlightened powers of the West. The people of Austria, to a considerable extent, were friendly to liberal measures; but partly from religious prejudices, and partly from the prejudice of race, the Austro-Germans had no love for the Western powers. The aristocracy of Austria hated "the Greek schism," when they had religion enough of its kind even to hate any system or principle of a religious nature; but their love of despotism, and their mortal rancour against popular freedom, prevailed more with them than all other considerations—except that of their pecuniary prosperity. They were as greedy of lands and plunder as the Russian soldier or official. Whatever enlightened ideas the Emperor Francis Joseph may have fostered, and however a portion of the middle-class citizens of Vienna may have shared such ideas with him, Vienna, and Austria generally, were, with whatever of heart they had, thoroughly despotic, bigoted, selfish, and aggrandising. The policy of Austria in forming a treaty with Turkey for the occupation of the provinces was with the hope of keeping them, and in order to prevent the pursuit of the Russian army by Omar Pasha. The retreat from Silistria, it became well known, was more perilous to the Russians than at the time Western Europe had supposed. The plans of Omar Pasha in pursuit were worthy a great general; and had he been allowed to execute them, he would have destroyed the Russian army. Austria obstructed their execution; Baron Hess and Count Corinini stepped in between the pursuer and the pursued, and robbed the former of his prey. Lord Clarendon admitted, in his place in the House of Peers, that such was the case; and he softened down the occurrence by alleging that the Austrian government had "explained" (a convenient diplomatic phrase), and that Count Corinini had made a mistake, and the Austrian government had "disavowed" his conduct. Of what use is the disavowal of a policy which accomplishes first all that which it was meant to answer? Did the Austrian government punish, or even censure, any official for exceeding or disobeying orders? Not one! Was it not well known that it was a feature of the Austrian system to have an officer, civil or military, at hand, to disobey orders which the Austrian government deemed it convenient to have disobeyed? If our statesmen knew all this, their policy should have

been regulated accordingly—their language should have been open, honourable, and explicit, instead of a mere cant of official courtesy and political hypocrisy. If they did not know that this had been the policy of Austria, then how wretchedly was our country served by their class! Every man of political and literary reputation in the middle walks of English life, knew well that this was one of the most commonly practised dodges of Austrian political artifice; and it was time that our legislators knew it, or, knowing it, acted honestly out what they believed. They could not have outdone Austria in lying and hypocrisy, had our diplomatists used their skill in these qualifications with ever so much address. The straightforward, honest policy—that of Milton and Cromwell—alone becomes England and Englishmen—alone stands to our interests and objects, and will alone receive the blessing of God. The whole conduct of Austria, in Wallachia and Moldavia, had been in harmony with her act in intercepting the pursuit of the Russians by Omar Pasha. Scarcely had he advanced to Bucharest, than insult to his person and hinderance to his procedure were shown by the Austrian officers and officials everywhere. From Bucharest to Jassy, from Jassy to the Russian frontier, a line of Austrian spies conveyed intelligence of every movement, and almost of every word uttered by the distinguished general of the Turks. He then left the provinces, breaking his way through a net-work of treachery, calumny, and spite, which Austrian hands wove for him. The conduct of Austria in forcing Stirbey, the seditious hospodar, upon the Turkish government, was itself sufficient to have opened the eyes of the allies, if the Aberdeen-Graham-Gladstone-Herbert cabinet, and the French minister of Foreign Affairs, had not been so tender and delicate to “the conservative government of Austria.” We will admit that the allies had turned the Austrian occupation to a good account: so far Austria out-generalled herself. Russia, with whom it was alleged in Germany the plan of the Austrian occupation originated, remained very doubtful of Austrian fidelity, and kept large bodies of men on that frontier; but after all, the benefit, in the sum total of the influences exercised upon the war by that occupation, was not much in favour of the Western powers. Had it not been for the presence of Austria there, we should not have been in the Crimea; but we should have had Bessarabia, and made Odessa the basis of our operations upon the Black Sea. Our position would have been more commanding as to Austria, and not less commanding as to Russia. Our fleet could have effected the blockade of Sebastopol; we could have driven the Russians from the eastern shores of the

Black Sea, as we afterwards succeeded in doing; and we could have ravaged the Sea of Azoff, on either shore, from Sebastopol to the strait of the Putrid Sea, and from the mouth of the Cuban to the mouth of the Don. After Austria took possession of the provinces, rapine and tyranny reigned there; the religion of the people was insulted, and the attempts at proselytism were scarcely any longer covert—an object certainly not provided for in the convention, and not honourable under the auspices of an army in friendly and allied occupation. Under the Russian rule the people were sorely tried, but there was at least ecclesiastical sympathy, of which Prince Gortschakoff made the most. The Austrians, not only oppressed with as high a hand as the Muscovites, but added insult to oppression, and carried the religious animosity existing between the professors of the Latin and Greek rite into all their oppressions and affronts, that would in the least degree admit of that element.

According to the convention between Turkey and Austria, in 1854, the army of the latter was simply to garrison Wallachia and Moldavia, in order to prevent the return of the Russians, who had been expelled by the victorious arms of Omar Pasha. This compact was never observed. The moment Hesse, Corinini, and their troops were firmly established in their quarters, the whole country was virtually placed under martial law. Quarrels were fomented with the boyards and citizens—with Omar Pasha and the English commissioners in his army—with, in fact, every person and party where a quarrel might tend to give Austria a pretext for military dominancy. There was not a line in the convention, in virtue of which the Austrians were there, at all to afford the slightest title for the assumption of government which Austria entered upon.

Most of the illegal proceedings of the chiefs of the occupying army were done in the names of the hospodars. This tempered matters in Moldavia, where the real authorities were not so compliant; but, in Wallachia, the conduct of the hospodar tended to make the *kasir* as effectually sovereign of the province, as he is of the duchy of Austria. Prince Stirbey held the hospodariat in spite of his suzerainty, the sultan. That man had lived in Vienna in exile for some time, where, with the help of the Russian minister, he intrigued with the Austrian Foreign-office, promising to rule in the interest of Austria for ever, if, through her means, he should be brought back to the government of the province he had so long and so cruelly plundered and oppressed, and from which the sultan, his legitimate master, at last drove him out. He had been a traitor to the sultan, and a tyrant to the people, and was detested by both. The Porte and the

people were desirous to co-operate in the appointment of a hospodar, and both desired a member of one of the old families of the country, in whom confidence for justice, ability, and loyalty might be placed. All these wishes were well known to Austria, and all were set at defiance. Stirbey—a man of low origin, but affecting the pride and pomp of the most ancient houses and powerful potentates—having no claim to the position which, by corruption he attained—was eventually brought back to Bucharest by Austrian bayonets, and Turkey and the allies must either submit to the indignity, or quarrel with Austria. The English government saw and regretted all this; remonstrances were made by the English ambassador at Vienna, and representations were made to the French Foreign-office by the English ambassador at Paris; but all in vain. The Austrians persisted steadily and determinedly in their course, as if conscious that they had some support in these transactions, unknown to the English cabinet. There was, no doubt, much Austrian gold spent among the corrupt and venal pashas at Constantinople, and no small portion of it in the neighbourhood of the Turkish office for foreign affairs. The French consul at Bucharest connived at the doings of Count Corinini, with whom he was on excellent terms; while between the count and the British consul there was the most unreserved personal hostility, as well as the most serious political and practical differences. Both the French and British consuls were supported by their governments in thus taking courses the most opposite! The *entente cordiale* was as little exemplified amidst the intrigues and treacheries at Bucharest, as under another French sovereign, who boasted much of maintaining it—it was exemplified in the Spanish marriages. Lord Palmerston disapproved of the conduct of the Austrians, from first to last. The French emperor expressed neither approbation nor disapprobation, no matter what the Austrians did, either in Italy or on the Danube. The conduct of his imperial majesty at that juncture naturally suggested some especial compact between himself and the emperor, Francis Joseph. It was impossible to conceive of the Austrians daring to treat England as they did, if they were not sure of some countenance, or, at all events, great forbearance, from the chief of the French government. It was alleged on the Continent—especially in Paris and Brussels—that German influence in the English court was the key to the riddle. The French emperor was described as exceedingly vain of his recognition by the Queen of England; and anxious to do anything which he knew would be pleasing to her or to the prince, however it might be regarded by the English people or the Eng-

lish cabinet, much as the emperor undoubtedly respected both. Believing that a concessive spirit to Austria would be well received by the English court, it was affirmed that he withheld support from the policy of the English Foreign-office, where Austria was concerned, unless where co-operation, real and ostensible, was a *sine quâ non* to the English alliance. Lord Palmerston was reputed to be averse to all tampering with the German courts, but was restrained, it was said, by the personal influence of the French emperor from adopting any course which might bring him or his cabinet into collision with the court—the emperor persuading him that, in the long run, they would be able to outwit Austria by a more astute policy.

Whatever was the amount of truth in these rumours—which certainly circulated in the very best circles for political intelligence in London and on the Continent—the Wallachs and Moldavs turned once more with hope to Russia, as their only succour against the intolerance and tyranny of the despotic and cowardly power that ruled them. During the spring of 1855 this feeling grew in the provinces, causing uneasiness everywhere but in Russia. The Austrians made the manifestation of this feeling a pretext for additional severity; and the French seemed to take the same view of it, for the French consul and other French political *employés* acted more like the agents of Austria, or of a power in active and exclusive alliance with Austria, than as the servants of a power in close alliance with Great Britain, and sharing with her the dangers of war, upon the field and on the wave. The Roumans found sympathy at the English consulate; but Mr. Colquhoun, the able consul of her Britannic majesty, was powerless; the intrigues of the French in favour of Austrian tyranny thwarted him in every step he took. The Roumans at last openly cursed in the streets the hour when the Russian armies retreated before the victorious lieutenants of Omar Pasha.

Frequent and anxious conferences between the English ambassadors and the Porte arose out of these transactions: whatever the hopes of the sultan and the Turks in the spring of 1855, the state of the provinces—the open aggressions of the Austrians there—the double dealing of the French agents, and the discontent between these latter and the officers and agents of England and Turkey—caused much disquietude at Constantinople, and formed an important and dark element in the changing influences and circumstances which affected the feelings of the belligerents, and the events which ensued.

The only powers which Austria at this juncture seemed to treat with any respect were

France and Russia: to every other power she was arrogant and insolent; to Turkey overbearing in the last degree. She took no warning from the coalition against Russia to bear herself humbly. The czar felt in the Kremlin the blows struck by British and French hands in the Crimea; Peterhoff felt the vibrations sent afar through the empire by the cannons before Sebastopol; from Cronstadt to the Caspian, Russia had learned that it was dangerous to "let slip the dogs of war," for they might turn and rend the hands that held the leash; Russia was not yet beaten, but she keenly felt the chastisement, and would willingly resort to the *status quo ante bellum*, if permitted to do so, promising to be a good neighbour to Turkey for all time to come:—but Austria had learned nothing. Seldom do great calamities to one nation teach another. "They will not see," was the lamentation of Isaiah, when national judgments were abroad, and the blazing ruins of one mighty city sent up their lurid rays upon the palaces and towers of another. Austria took no warning from the sufferings of Russia; she continued to be the pest and firebrand of Europe; from her, political miasmas swept forth over all Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe; her torch of discord and terror was flung forth over every realm where her hand was strong enough to cast it. On the scripture principle of representing a despotic empire by the emblem of a beast, a creature more ferocious than formidable would best depict that of Austria. She exhibited at this juncture not only a desire to play the tyrant in the face of all consequences, but a taste even for submission to dictation herself, where it might tend to strengthen her own hand for dictation elsewhere. The legations were garrisoned by the troops of the empire, while Vienna was dominated by the legate; the axe and the rope were the instruments of her government at Ferrara, while the nuncio forbid the burial of Austrian subjects in their own sepulchres, and those of their fathers. Throughout the whole Austrian empire, and wherever her troops had intruded beyond its confines—as in the Rouman provinces and the Roman states—oppression was rampant. There was either disorder without law, or law which itself was the origin of disorders, because of its obvious injustices. Within and without what was once called the Holy Roman Empire, men felt that it had become the curse of Christendom—the anomaly of European civilisation—the political anachronism of the nineteenth century. A furious persecution against Jews, Greeks, Protestants, German Catholics, &c., raged throughout the home dominions of the kasir, and a relentless political bondage fettered his circumjacent provinces. Poor bleeding Hungary repined in the

weakness of exhaustion and despair; pillaged Poland had nothing left worth fighting for; Italy panted, with eager desire, to be free—as the eagle seeking scope to fill its wings ere it rises in its power and pride. In Padua, Parma, Tuscany, and the Roman states, the people were maddened by foreign interference and oppression, and the oppressor was Austria. It was a monstrous inconsistency on the part of the Western powers, that while a war was waged to rescue provinces from the clutch of Russia, nations and independent states were trampled with impunity by the hoofs of the Austrian Croats. The kasir was allowed to occupy his throne of many ill-cemented pieces without an effort to compel him to respect the independence of surrounding states, while a dangerous war was directed against Russia for perpetrating the same offence. The kasir was the most malignant enemy of England, and the plunderer of the most fertile realms of Europe. It was not likely that Turkey would take any vigorous steps against a power which robbed her subjects, under pretence of protecting her territory, when the Western governments allowed her to do the same thing in Italy, under the same pretence. In fact, Turkey was afraid even to remonstrate, except with bated breath; and her remonstrances, such as they were, were met with haughty disdain and derision. Besides, the French ambassador at Constantinople was the friend of Austria, as well as the French consul at Bucharest; and the French minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris was equally partial to Austrian interests. This view of the relations, as well as of the character of the Austrian government, will explain the apparently tame submission of Turkey and England to the injuries inflicted on the provinces, and the insults offered to the dignity and sovereignty of the sultan. The political effect at Constantinople was to enrage the Turks, and inflame their animosity against Giaours in general, and their eager wish that the war should be brought, by arms, to a speedy termination, and the troops of the allies be removed from every portion of the Ottoman empire.

The monetary condition of the Turkish empire was deplorable; the prices of all imported commodities, as well as of those the production of the countries constituting the sultan's dominions, rose to an extraordinary rate, and the distress experienced was general and severe. Another earthquake at Broussa awakened the superstitious feelings of the populations everywhere throughout Turkey, and entailed heavy calamity upon all that neighbourhood. Broussa and its vicinity were exceedingly picturesque, and historically interesting. A traveller, who visited it after the second earthquake, describes it in these lines:—"At last Broussa was

plainly visible, its showy mosques and dark-red houses standing out against the green sides of Olympus, which towered up above with its crown of snow. Perhaps no more romantic spot can be found in the world than this, which has been the site of an imperial city for more than 2000 years." On the 28th of February an earthquake occurred at this ancient city, which was noticed in the last chapter on Turkey. On the 11th of March a still more serious visitation of this kind occurred, although only few lives were lost as compared with those lost by the former catastrophe, precautions having been taken against a recurrence of the danger. On the last occasion a succession of shocks occurred, by which the whole city and all the surrounding villages were destroyed. The accounts of the number of shocks vary so much, as to render it impossible to obtain any tolerably exact idea of their direction, duration, or number; some stating them at forty, and others—probably computing those on the 28th of February, and those which intervened between that date and the destructive scenes on the 11th of March—at 150. On the morning of the 12th of March hardly any public building remained standing in Broussa. The bridges—massive stone structures—were all broken: two of them dated from the time of the Romans. The great mosque—once the Convent of the Virgin, which was erected in the time of Justinian, and was only exceeded in the empire by the Mosque of St. Sophia—was made a ruin. The tomb of Sultan Urchan, son of Othman, one of the wonders of the place, was utterly crushed. Masses of solid rock went rolling down the mountain, crushing everything against which they came in contact. A visitor to this theatre of demolition shortly after the event, represented the Jews as the principal sufferers, and described their wretchedness as mournfully picturesque—"The Jews, with their lofty head-dresses, were to be seen sitting round their fallen walls, destitute and desolate." The wretchedness of the poorer fugitives—Jews, Christians, and Mussulmen—was extreme, as they journeyed, footsore, hungry, deprived of all things, and, perhaps, sick or wounded, or bearing with them their sick and wounded relatives. The foreign consuls and residents were borne away in steamers, sent by their respective embassies. Shortly after the earthquake a fire broke out among the wooden huts, which escaped the concussion better than the public buildings; the conflagration raged until mouldering ashes alone remained of the humble tenements of the poor. Rear-admiral the Hon. F. W. Grey sent home to the British Admiralty such details as bear out the narrative here given of a calamity which ruined so fair and antique a

city, and desolated the houses of 70,000 persons.

Among the events which produced much excitement at Constantinople, were the rumours of an approaching visit from the French emperor, on his way to the seat of war in the Crimea. The sultan and his government made every suitable preparation to receive so distinguished a guest; but the common people regarded the purpose of his coming with suspicion, and saw in it the fulfilment of some ill-defined prophecy, which predicted the subjugation of the empire; and when Colonel de Belville, aide-de-camp to the emperor of the French, inspected the palaces of Begler Bey and Balta Liman, on the Bosphorus, the consternation of the old Turkish party was as great as when Prince Menschikoff made his demands, which provoked the war.

The interference of the allies in favour of the religious contentions of the sultan's subjects increased the commotion of feeling which this party struggled to suppress. The *tanzimat* was cursed and secretly resisted, and in several villages Christians were massacred. The fury of the high Mussulmen, unable to restrain their bigotry, was enkindled by the liberal measures dictated to the sultan by his allies. France was distrusted much more than England; but distrust and dislike were felt extremely to both powers, by Mussulmen and Christians. Indeed, the only persons in the sultan's dominions that sympathised with the allies, were the Jews. The Greek Roman Catholics were well disposed to the French, but stood aloof from the English; while the Armenians cherished a partiality for the latter, so great as frequently to offend the subjects of the other Western powers.

The sanitary commission sent out from England did much good in connection with the hospitals, and the convalescents rapidly improved as the spring advanced. Perhaps in no country is spring so exhilarating to invalids as in Turkey. The mud and filth, so overwhelming in winter, in field and city, dry up rapidly under the sun of March. Wild-flowers of every hue luxuriantly burst forth by the public ways, and spread out in the richest profusion; shrubs of wonderful variety put on their rich and diversified bloom; fruit-trees of almost every species rapidly assume their gay apparel of many-tinted blossoms; the vine puts forth its vitality, and the fig-tree becomes rapidly rich in blossoms and fruit: the whole earth seems redolent of beauty. The British and French invalids on the Bosphorus felt the genial opening of the beautiful Turkish spring; and hope succeeded to the dreary fears and despondency, which even Miss Nightingale and her companions

could not cheer away. The miserable routine and officialism which had ruined everything in connection with the hospitals, were still the great impediment; and the accounts given of the obstructions presented by gentlemen in office to anything rational which was attempted on behalf of the invalids, would pass belief, if they were not accredited so as to make all doubt unreasonable. The following seems too bad to be true—yet it is too true for the honour of the country and the service:—"The mortality still diminishes, and now does not average more than twenty a-day. On the 6th it was as low as fourteen. The weather exercises a wonderful influence over the men. The convalescents, on a fine day, are different beings to the same men when fog and rain meet their eyes on every side. All seem, however, to want amusement, and would, no doubt, be much benefited by any light occupation or pastime suited to their strength. While the nation may be congratulated on the improved state of its brave defenders, it is impossible to convey to it any hopes that the spirit of routine and official folly is about to be eradicated. One anecdote, which may be relied upon, will serve to give a conception of the Scutariote medical mind. Five officers are in a bad state of health, and must be sent home. Recourse is had to Dr. Menzies for a board, to which that gentleman sees no objection; but an unexpected difficulty occurs—a quadruplicate application must be made on foolscap paper in every case, and Dr. Menzies's stock of foolscap is exhausted. Dr. Cumming, also, on being applied to, declares that there is none in his possession. In short, it is discovered that the department is destitute of an indispensable implement in its action, and must remain in a state of collapse until some supply arrives from home. The unhappy invalids hasten over to Pera, and ransack the stalls of the Jewish stationers—but in vain. Foolscap is a British production, while the Turkish capital is mostly supplied with writing materials from Paris or Vienna. At last it is discovered that 'Stampa' has foolscap, and the medical department receives notice of the fact. But, if Dr. Menzies purchases a quire, it will possibly be at his own expense, and at least another quire will be taken up in the correspondence relative to reimbursement; he therefore hesitates to take the step. One of the officers then says that he will buy some, but is at once met by the objection that the medical department cannot receive stores of any kind, except from the properly constituted authorities. The invalids have missed a steamer, and are now at the twelfth day of their detention! What solution of the difficulty ingenuity may achieve is in the darkness of the future; but I have just seen one of the

sufferers, who is very desponding as to his chances of speedy departure."

In a previous chapter we gave a very favourable account of the Smyrna Hospital; but even there confusion ensued upon the arrival of the nurses who departed from England in the beginning of spring. "On Saturday, the 3rd March, a party of forty nurses, selected by Mrs. Sidney Herbert for duty at the Smyrna Hospital, one half ladies, the other paid attendants, left the London Bridge Station of the South-eastern Railway, under the superintendence of Mrs. Holmes Coote, attended by one of the medical officers and a courier, to proceed, *via* Folkestone, Boulogne, and Marseilles, to their place of destination. They received throughout their journey the most marked courtesy and attention. The proprietor of the Hôtel des Bains, at Boulogne, provided for them a handsome repast, for which he declined to receive payment—his servants also refusing any gratuity. They reached Marseilles on Tuesday, and proceeded on the Thursday following in the French steamer *Sinai*—the wind during the whole passage being favourable, though generally boisterous. When, on the morning of Thursday, the 15th of March, at 7 A.M., the handsome sea frontage of the Smyrna Hospital became first visible—even under all the disadvantages of an eastern rain—a feeling of surprise and pleasure pervaded the entire party. It is a spacious building, three storeys high, built of stone, coloured red, except round the windows, and constructed in the form of three sides of a square, the side towards the sea being open for the advantage of the breeze. Behind lies the Turkish quarter of the town, and still further back a series of hills, upon one of which stood the remains of an old castle. It will, doubtless, appear incredible that no adequate provision should have been made for the nurses on their arrival; yet such is the fact. The directions from the government were misunderstood, and for some considerable time the ladies were indebted for a home to the hospitality of a Smyrna merehant, M. Guidiey, who came on board the vessel, and made them an offer of his house. To Mr. Whittall and others especial thanks are also due, for the most prompt and kind attention under this embarrassment. The military commandant, Colonel Storks, when acquainted with the nature of the emergency, proceeded immediately to encounter it with an energy and independence of action, which proved him equal to his laborious post. A Turkish official's house was speedily put in order; a suitable table was provided; the paid attendants had their rooms allotted to them within the hospital, and the medical officers, of whom about twenty had arrived by different routes, were authorised to arrange themselves in such an order as ap-

peared most calculated to enable them efficiently to discharge their respective duties. In twenty-four hours this numerous party was in great measure organised upon a preconcerted plan, as sketched out by Dr.

Meyer, the superintendent, whose departure from England was necessarily delayed, by the duties of his office, for a few days after he had taken leave of the last of the hospital staff."

CHAPTER LXXIX.

VOICES FROM THE BATTLE-FIELDS DURING MARCH.—THE SECOND BOMBARDMENT OF SEBASTOPOL.

"Strange to say, the prolonged resistance of Sebastopol to the fleets and armies of England and France, by opening our eyes to its exhaustless resources, supplies the best reasons why it should be levelled. The magnitude and secrecy of its warlike preparations in time of peace, betraying designs, if not now, yet in future, inimical to the East, or against that Turkey, the integrity of which Russia had guaranteed."—M. C. SEMOV.

BEFORE opening our narrative of the second bombardment of Sebastopol, a representation of the feelings, condition, and hopes of the soldiery at that juncture—as seen by a few extracts from letters written by themselves—will be appropriate.

Corporal Macdonald, Scots Fusileer Guards, thus wrote:—"Our health and appearance is much improved since we have been here. We begin to look like guardsmen again. Indeed, our brigadier-general gave us praise yesterday for our appearance on parade. We have the wooden houses to live in now, but we ought to have had them four months ago, and then many of our poor fellows might have been saved. The condition of the army is improving a little. The weather is very fine, and has been for the last ten days. It is not so bad in the trenches now as it was two months ago. We have got our last year's clothing, and we look quite smart again. We are expecting an attack upon this place from General Liprandi's army, but I think he had better leave it alone."

From James Cooper, 1st Royal Dragoons:—"I never enjoyed better health at home than I do in this country, which is one of the greatest blessings we have here. I must acknowledge we have had fighting here most fearful to relate. I can clearly say we have been for a fortnight together, and never had a dry thread to our backs, with scarcely a bit of shoe to our feet, and the mud half way up to our knees; but, thank God, the worst of the trouble is over now. We have good boots and good clothes, which will keep out a good storm. We were all turned out this morning (14th of March), expecting an attack to be made on us by the Russians. They showed a very good front, supposed to be about 30,000 of them, to attack Balaklava, but they were not game to try their luck; if they had, they would have met with a very warm reception from our batteries, which we have erected. We have got wooden houses to live in now during the fine weather. We ought to have had these good things a long time ago, and that would

have been the means of saving the lives of many thousands of our poor comrades: they have lessened our army greatly. But with all our losses, we can still 'wallop' the Russians, for all their superior numbers."

Sergeant Robert Bentley, Royal Artillery, gave the following account of the prices of provisions:—"I don't care what I suffer and go through while I am here, so that I am able to bear it all, also that we beat the Russians, and I live to come to old England again all safe and sound; and I live in hopes of doing so—in fact, I feel sure of doing so; but we have a great deal to do yet to beat the Russians. If I had to live on my bare rations only every day, I should not have been so well as I am at present. Our rations are daily 1lb. of salt beef or pork, 1 lb. of biscuit, coffee night and morning, and now we have got some potatoes, perhaps three times a week, and we find them do us a great deal of good; but I have lived on salt meat and biscuit for so long, that I cannot take it now, so I buy bread, butter, &c. &c., with my pay, and I think it is that that has brought me round so well; but we have to pay very dear for everything we have to buy. The French bake their own bread, and we buy a loaf of them when we can, but we have to give 3s. 6d. for a loaf not more than 3 lbs. weight, and if we send to Balaklava, and that is about seven miles from our camp, we give 2s. for a loaf not more than 1½ lbs. weight, and glad to get them at that price; butter (salt, of course) is 3s. lb.; English cheese, 3s. lb.; sugar, 1s. lb.; flour 1s. lb.; porter, 2s. 6d. a bottle, about a pint and a half in the bottle; ale, 1s. 6d.—if they call it ale, I call it small beer. I heard the other day that there was some red herrings to be got, and I thought I should like one, so I sent for one, and they only charged 4d. for it, and it was a very small one! Oranges are also 4d. each; so what money we do get it does not go far for a few comforts, but I find they do me good, and as long as I have money, and there is such things to be got, I will get them."

Sergeant Selby, of the 50th, writing to his mother, said :—"We now want for nothing that old England can send out, and we are as well off as any one can wish to be. We all thank the ladies of England for their comforts, for if we had not had them all the soldiers in this country would have died before this. We have everything ready for a good fight, which is sure to take place one of these days; but I think we shall be victorious, for they (the Russians) are afraid to come out and fight us manfully, for they know that we can beat them. Dear mother, be not faint-hearted about me, for I will do all I can for my country, and the ladies that are in it, for their kindness towards us. But my time is short; it is now twelve o'clock at night, and the post leaves in the morning at five o'clock, so I must conclude."

An old soldier wrote from before Sebastopol on the 17th of March:—"Sickness and the enemy have not carried sufficient mortality into our ranks; but now that we are close upon the town we must pipe-clay our belts, to render us a perfect target for the enemy, who are within one hundred yards of us. All are of the same opinion. Are we not as good soldiers as though we were pipe-clayed for general inspection at home? Cannot we fight as well as though we were polished up for a guard of honour? For proof, look at Alma and Inkerman; we were then both dirty and wet; yet because we have got a few fine days we are harassed with pipe-clay and blacking. I am not a grumbler or discontented soldier, yet I should like to see the people of England take this in hand, for it would greatly ameliorate our condition. Another thing which is greatly disliked is, that Sir George Brown has ordered us to wear stocks on parade, an article which we now hate to see, and especially when the summer is coming on."

A letter from the French camp contained the following romantic story:—"For some days past nothing has been talked of but the arrest of a young Russian woman; she had been remarked several times before, as her favourite walk appeared to be in the trenches. The rumour circulated for some time, and the general was at last informed of the fact. He ordered a stricter watch to be kept, as he thought it could be only a spy disguised in woman's attire. At six o'clock on the morning of the 28th, the same woman presented herself in front of our men while they were at work. She was of tall and majestic stature, and held an unextinguished lantern in her hand, and seemed to examine the works with much attention. Some perceived that she held a roll of paper, half open, in which, probably, she noted all the observations she could collect. At the sight of our soldiers and officers she quickened

her pace, and entered a sort of ravine which is at the extremity of the French trenches. As soon as she reached that spot she began to run, but the commandant sent two Zouaves in pursuit, and they soon overtook her. Two hours after she was conducted to General Canrobert. Her examination was not long; she constantly replied that it was for the good of her country, and to avenge the death of her husband, Boninoff, killed at the Alma, that she acted thus, and, moreover, that she felt no regret. She was then searched. The searchers found in one of her pockets a paper book, containing several details on the state of our batteries, the number of men employed, the number of guns in the batteries, &c.; and in another pocket a double-barrelled pistol, and a letter addressed to Prince Menschikoff. After the visit she was shut up in an apartment of the general's head-quarters, under the guard of two soldiers, until such time as she can be sent to Malta."

In the last chapter on the siege the death of Admiral Istomine was recorded. The following interesting communication concerning him appeared in the *Journal Russe*:—"On the 7th of March (19th) the garrison of Sebastopol had the misfortune to lose Rear-admiral Istomine, chief of the 4th section of the line of defence. At ten in the morning, after the inspection of the works in the Kamtschatka Redoubt, Rear-admiral Istomine was returning to the Korniloff Bastion, when he was struck on the head by a ball directed against the said redoubt. The loss of this young general officer, endowed with such brilliant courage and zeal, and who promised so well, is severely felt by the Russian fleet and the garrison of Sebastopol. Vice-admiral Nachimoff had selected a place in the Cathedral of St. Vladimir, near the tomb of Vice-admiral Korniloff, but Istomine having gone before him to eternal life, he gave him up his place, soliciting permission to bury there the young rear-admiral who had so gloriously fallen for his faith, his sovereign, his country, and a just cause.*"

Previous to the opening of the bombardment, copies of a Russian order of the day were brought into the British camp by deserters. It was issued by Prince Gortschakoff on assuming the command, and discloses alike the spirit of the Russian government, army, and people:—

SOLDIERS!—His majesty has deigned to appoint me to the command of the sea and land forces in the Crimea. Brave warriors, all Russia is proud of your heroic courage, and our great emperor, Nicholas I., on his death-bed turned his last looks towards you with gratitude. His worthy successor, his majesty the reigning emperor, Alexander II., has deigned to express himself as follows, in letters addressed to me on the 3rd and 7th of March:—

* According to some Russian accounts, Nachimoff was first killed (see page 185); according to others he survived Istomine: we have no means of reconciling this discrepancy.

"Tell the brave defenders of Sebastopol, in the name of our immortal benefactor, that the Emperor Nicholas was proud of them, and that he thought of them on his death-bed, in sending them, through me, the expression of his last and cordial gratitude. Tell our brave soldiers that I thank them in his name by these letters, and that I am perfectly convinced that they were always worthy of his paternal solicitude."

Soldiers! the most difficult time is over. The roads are better, transports of every description arrive easily, and considerable reinforcements sent to your support are on the way. In taking the command of this army I am sincerely convinced that, with God's blessing, success will finally crown our efforts, and that we will certainly justify the hopes of our august sovereign. Adjutant-general Osten-Sacken, who directed the defence of Sebastopol with so much honour, and his companion the brave Admiral Nachimoff, resume to-day their former functions.

At last the preparations for the second bombardment were brought to a close, and orders were given on Easter Sunday, the 8th of April, to open fire the next day. Unhappily the allies were not in a condition to overcome the defence, and it is difficult to conceive how they could have been in ignorance of this fact. The English general was unwilling to enter upon the task until the attacks were far more formidable; but the French commander literally goaded him to begin the bombardment, even while the English were arming the French batteries with their most useful pieces of ordnance, and were incessantly engaged in bringing up shot and shell to the French lines. The English had only 150 cannon mounted in all their attacks; their advanced attacks were badly armed, and General Jones, the chief engineer, was chagrined beyond measure by the unfit state of many of the batteries, which was such that a number of powerful pieces could not be brought into play. The cause of this was chiefly the overworked state of the men; their fatigue was almost beyond human endurance; their numbers bore no proportion to their work. The French had 200 guns, many of which were lent by the English; but the force of the British batteries, with fewer guns, was superior to that of the French, because of their greater solidity, and the heavier weight of metal which they carried. The number of Russian guns was much greater than that of the British and French together. At least 500 pieces were mounted upon the defences, and those defences, from the extraordinary labour which had been bestowed upon them, were more solid than the allied attacks. The Russian engineers—and especially Todleben, the engineer-in-chief—displayed amazing skill, dauntless courage, and untiring industry, and their efforts were seconded by the whole Russian army with the utmost alacrity and zeal. Nationality, military pride, and fanaticism, all lent their inspirations to the Muscovite host.

The works of the allies were very much extended, but the batteries formed by them were constructed with science, manned by a

brave soldiery, and directed by very skilful as well as most gallant officers. The attacks were connected by parallels, and the advanced batteries were connected by zigzag approaches, affording shelter to the reinforcements which might be required. The town itself was begirt by earthworks, sustaining ponderous batteries, and giving proof, by their elaborate construction, that the enemy was prodigal of his labour. General descriptions of the lines of the defence have been already given, and every fresh effort to strengthen that defence was noticed as we proceeded in detailing the events of the siege.

During the morning of the 9th, soon after midnight of the 8th, some sharp skirmishing occurred between the French and Russian pickets, and the reports of musketry fire became so considerable at one time, as to lead many in the English camp to suppose that a sortie was being attempted. The night of the 8th was one of rain and storm, which continued through the morning of the 9th, before dawn, with great fierceness; so that when daylight arrived, heavy mists obscured its struggling rays, and hid the works of the contending hosts from one another. At a given moment three shots were fired by the besiegers, and immediately the cannonade opened along the whole line of batteries. Mr. Woods represents the moment of opening the bombardment at half-past five, and describes the enemy as so taken by surprise, that for half an hour after he did not return the fire. Colonel Hamley, who, as a major of artillery, was engaged on the occasion, and was more likely to time the events, represents the besieging batteries as not opening their fire until twenty minutes past six; and the Russians as not recovering from their surprise for twenty minutes after. The Baron Bazancourt describes the Russians as replying to their assailants in a few minutes, and states that the French first opened fire without signal, then the English. Colonel Hamley says that the English first fired, and soon after the French joined the cannonade; while Mr. Russell describes the allies as simultaneously opening their fire at daybreak. We prefer Colonel Hamley's account; it is more consistent with the orders given, and with the course of events. The orders were not to discharge a gun until the objects to be aimed at could be distinctly seen; and so dense was the mist, and so protracted the struggle of the rising sun, that it must have been quite as late as the colonel states before the British signal was given, and even then objects could scarcely be discerned through the drizzling mists which hung over the hostile batteries. Very soon—almost instantaneously—the English lines were one blaze of fire: this speedily extended to the French works, and through the thick fog the

flashes seemed to run along the whole course of the batteries, in a continuous current of flame. When the enemy somewhat recovered from their surprise, their reply was comparatively feeble; and it was not until noon that they seemed to regain their confidence, and effectually answer the guns of their assailants. Until two o'clock the artillerymen of the allies were directed to fire at discretion—and their “discretion” was to pour, with astounding rapidity and precision, shot and shell upon the ramparts of the besieged. After two o'clock the number of discharges for each gun was limited, and probably the damage done to the enemy was as extensive by this mode. To the Russians the cannonade must have appeared more awful than to the allies, for a fierce south wind bore the detonations over the city, while it checked the reverberations of the cannon of the besieged which fell with muffled and heavy sound over the camps of the besiegers. In consequence of the stormy state of the weather, the smoke of the batteries and the drizzling rain were driven into the faces of the Russian gunners, rendering it difficult for them to take aim, and throughout the day their fire accomplished very little. According to Colonel Hamley, there were 360 French guns engaged against the town defences and the outworks; while Mr. Woods, and other English correspondents, computed them at little more than 200. The effect of such a cannonade, as its report was suddenly swept over the city by the storm, must have been such as to appal the unfortunate inhabitants of Sebastopol, and awaken anxiety in the hearts of its stoutest defenders.

The loss sustained by the English was chiefly among the artillery and the sailors—especially the latter, who fought with the most forward valour. That the killed among either should be so few arose not only from the obscurity of the morning, which was chiefly disadvantageous to the enemy, but also from the precautions taken by the engineers. The caves in the ravine close to Chapman's Battery were used as magazines; these could not be reached by the explosives which so often destroyed trench-magazines. The parapets, and other protective works, had been enlarged and made stronger. During the first bombardment, many of the wounded were killed in the efforts to remove them—and those who attended to them also fell victims; but, on this occasion, bomb-proof cells had been formed in the rear of the trenches, to which the wounded were instantly removed, and securely tended. Notwithstanding all these precautions, there were guns dismounted, and men slain in the various batteries—especially when at intervals the fog drifted past the city, and gleams of sunshine fell upon the allied works, enabling

the enemy to take more precise aim. Not a man of the British trench-guards fell: they were removed as the artillery took up their positions, and so placed as to insure their safety.

The loss of the enemy was very serious: numbers of wounded men were seen borne across to the northern side during the bright intervals which occurred, and when, in the afternoon, the day became generally clearer. The day's work was summed up by one who saw the conflict from the British position, in the following terse manner:—“The allies commenced the bombardment this morning during a storm of wind and rain very unfavourable to the Russians. The Russians, surprised, responded slowly—the Flagstaff and Garden Batteries excepted. These doubled their fire up to noon, when the superiority was on our side. At three o'clock the fire of the Mamelon was silenced, and only four guns were fired from the Round Tower. The Redan continued to fire six guns. The French have silenced the Flagstaff Battery. The loss of the allies is insignificant. The rain has ceased, and the night is fine.”

In the French lines more inconvenience from the weather was experienced than in the British: the trenches became almost impracticable, being nearly choked with mud or filled with water. In the lower positions of the French batteries, the hinderance from these causes was very serious. The Russians directed several tremendous salvoes of artillery against the French, who replied in a similar manner, and with more effect. The journal of the siege-corps has this entry:—“At two o'clock our fire had acquired a positive superiority; already a breach is made in the long-crenellated wall: everywhere the hostile batteries bear the traces of our fire.”

The correspondent of the *Impartial* of Smyrna communicated to that paper a very exact and well-described account of the first day's bombardment, as follows:—

Before Sebastopol, April 9.

“This morning, at 5 A.M., the fire along the whole line of the allies opened against Sebastopol. Despite the most fearful weather—an ice-cold beating rain and a violent wind—I proceeded to the English camp situate in the centre of the general attack.

“At 8 o'clock I was standing with a small group of officers, sheltered by a fragment of a wall, on the summit of Green Hill, the highest point in the rear of the English batteries. From here I was able to take in the whole *ensemble* of the attack and defence. The sky was of a dark slate colour, and, in the midst of small white puffs of smoke, flashes of fire were darting out of the Russian embrasures and

from the batteries of the allies. But the wind—or rather the hurricane—was so violent that it almost drowned the noise of the artillery.

“On the left attack, from the Quarantine to the Flagstaff Battery, 300 French cannon and mortars were hammering at the place, and, considering the proximity of the works, must have caused great destruction. It is clear that in that point of the attack great efforts have been made on both sides, especially at the Flagstaff Battery and at the Central Bastion. A shell, which fell in the latter, blew up a powder-magazine at 6 A.M., only an hour after the opening of the bombardment. Can it be that the Flagstaff Bastion is now regarded as the key of Sebastopol, instead of the famous Malakoff Tower? Everything seems to say so, for, compared to the attack on the left, the works on the right are insignificant. It is true fire has been opened against the ‘White Works,’ against the Mamelon, and against the Malakoff Tower; but the fifty siege-pieces in the Careening Battery will not do much against the formidable artillery of the enemy on that point; nor has the firing assumed that intensity as on the left attack, where admirably constructed and powerfully armed batteries are accumulated before the Central and Flagstaff Bastions, which they are battering with magnificent ardour.

“From the so-called English ravine to that of the Karabelnaia, the English, with 100 guns of heavy calibre, most scientifically placed, are keeping up a terrific fire. Notwithstanding the very considerable distance which separates their batteries from the batteries of the town, they are causing great damage. The attack on the centre has hitherto gone on admirably. The Russians reply slowly, and their range, either too small or too great, does little harm. A man who has this moment come up from the trenches says that he has only seen one killed and two wounded, and that everything is going on admirably.

“*Ten o’clock.*—I have approached the left attack, evidently at the present moment the most important. From a point a little in advance of the Observatory, I am able to judge of the progress of the fire. It appears to me slacker, especially on the side of the Russians. Perhaps this is owing to the beating rain, which soaks the ground, and renders the handling of the siege-pieces difficult, notwithstanding the wooden platforms on which they move.

“*Eleven o’clock.*—Men just come up from the trenches inform us that most of the French batteries have scarcely suffered; nearly all the shots of the Russians went over them. Batteries 26 and 28 are alone somewhat damaged, without, however, having been silenced. Various Russian batteries are nearly

silenced, and the embrasures of others considerably damaged. Our loss in killed and wounded is insignificant.

“*Noon.*—The fire still continues to the advantage of the allies.

“*Four P.M.*—The ‘sailants’ of the Central and Flagstaff Bastions appear to be ruined in their embrasures; many of the guns are dismounted; the enemy’s fire is slack.

“*Five P.M.*—The English have committed great ravages in the barrack batteries, which reply very slowly. The Malakoff Tower and the White Works on the right attack do not appear to have suffered much.

“*Six P.M.*—On the left attack, French Battery No. 28 has been seriously damaged: two or three times the Russian shot have swept through it. Lieutenant Brillant was cut in two by a cannon-ball. In the French batteries the number of killed and wounded, although considerable, is not so in proportion to the mass of projectiles fired by the enemy.

“*Nine P.M.*—The cannonade continues, and is to be continued night and day until the fire of the enemy is silenced. The weather is still atrocious. It blows a hurricane, and the cold rain pours down in torrents. This morning an attempt at a diversion was made, to alarm the Russians, by feigning a descent on the Katcha, on the other side of the port. For this purpose a Turkish division was embarked on board English and French steamers; but it did not succeed: the failure is attributed to the weather. As yet, the allied fleet has not taken any part in the attack; it is still at anchor, either in the roadstead at Kamiesch or at Kazatch.”

On the 10th of April Lord Raglan sent home to his government his account of the proceedings:—

Before Sebastopol, April 10.

MY LORD,—In accordance with the arrangement made between General Canrobert and myself, the batteries of the French and English armies opened upon Sebastopol soon after daylight yesterday morning. The weather was extremely unpropitious. Much rain had fallen in the course of the night, and it continued during the day, accompanied by a tempestuous wind and a heavy mist, which obscured everything, and rendered it impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the effect of the fire, which has been continued with little or no interruption from the commencement, and has been superior to that of the enemy, who were evidently taken by surprise, and, except upon the extreme left, did not respond to the attack for nearly half an hour. This morning has been hazy, and for some time there was a drizzling rain; but it is clearing this afternoon, and there is again a prospect of fine weather. The country yesterday was covered with water, and the ground was again very deep. The trenches were likewise extremely muddy, and their condition added greatly to the labours of the men employed in the batteries, who consisted chiefly of sailors, artillerymen, and sappers. They conducted their duties admirably; and I am sorry to say that the two former, particularly the navy, sustained considerable loss. I have not yet received the returns of the casualties beyond the 9th instant, which are herewith inclosed; but the death of Lieutenant Twyford, of the royal navy, a most

promising officer, and greatly respected by all, has been notified to me; and Captain Lord John Hay, who has taken a most active part in the gallant and distinguished services of the Naval Brigade, was wounded almost at the very moment, I believe by the same shot. I hope the injury he has received is not very serious; but the loss of his assistance, even for a time, is much to be regretted. The Russians have not shown themselves in any force in front of Balaklava.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

As darkness descended, the allied fire slackened, and all who observed it were satisfied that the result of the day was greatly in their favour. Night did not, however, terminate the conflict, nor give rest to the combatants: they did not wait for day to dawn, and give them light to conduct a more precise cannonade; the mortars still kept up an intermittent attack. The rain ceased about eight o'clock, but the night continued gloomy; and the fiery flight of shell and rocket, as seen against the dark background, had a magnificent effect. Throughout the night the English threw shells into the Malakoff and Mamelon, the explosions of which could be distinctly heard in the British lines—so still was the night, and so silent everything in the contending hosts, except these hissing and exploding shells. The Flagstaff and Garden Batteries received a continual shower of bombs from the French. The Russian guns occasionally replied. The loss of the besieged in men, and the toil necessary to repair the damaged *matériel* through the night, must have been most trying to their fortitude and perseverance. Towards midnight skirmishes occurred at the advanced posts; but the musketry gradually slackened on both sides. The English experienced much disappointment throughout the day and night, and in a lesser degree during the remainder of the bombardment, by the bad condition of the fuses of the shells. Such of those projectiles as fell before exploding were proved to have been well aimed, and showed the skill of our gunners; but a large proportion burst in the air, in consequence of the wretched manufacture of the fuses. Thus, at every point, our brave soldiers were impeded by the neglect or incompetence of the departments at home.

On the 10th, at dawn, the "duel of artillery," as so many have called it, was renewed: its progress for the first few hours was thus described by the correspondent of the *Impartial* of Smyrna:—"Two Russian batteries in advance of the central bastion have been destroyed by French shells and balls, and abandoned by the Russians. The results obtained on the left attack are highly satisfactory. All the embrasures of the Central and Flagstaff Bastions are demolished; most of the guns are knocked over, and the carriages broken. The enemy's fire is slack and feeble. I am ignorant

of the results of the attack upon the centre and right. I am compelled to close my letter, as the steamer leaves in an hour, and I must hasten to the camp. The weather has somewhat cleared; the sky threatens rain, but the wind has fallen."

The day became fine. The Russians, as if by magic, had repaired their broken works and embrasures: even under fire, throughout the 10th, they worked at the parapets. Their shots were, however, irregular, and their guns were worked in a manner calculated to leave the impression with observers that they were short of men or ammunition. After eight o'clock in the morning, the Mamelon was silent all day. Salvoes from the Malakoff or Redan would burst forth occasionally: the artillerymen were seen moving among the batteries, passing from one to another—the same bodies of men working the guns in different batteries, according to the extent and character of the fire directed upon them. In the evening they withdrew their guns from the embrasures, leaving the allies comparatively unopposed, to exhaust their labour and ammunition against the earthworks. Subsequently, the cause of these remarkable proceedings was discovered: the garrison was short of men; it is alleged that only 18,000 were left in Sebastopol. The withdrawal of troops from the city was occasioned by the arrival of Omar Pasha and his Turks from Eupatoria. The Russian chief thought that a good opportunity was afforded for striking a final blow at Eupatoria. All the forces available were collected for that object, and actually were on their march, when the bombardment suddenly opened, to the surprise of the garrison. Todleben, who had the direction of the defence, immediately dispatched couriers after the absent army, to bring them back by a forced march, lest the allies should attempt an assault. Meanwhile, the Russian engineer had not half men enough to man his batteries adequately to reply to so terrible a bombardment. The army in the field returned, and the garrison, reinforced, was prepared for a more vigorous contest; but the resistance offered was only made as effectual as it was by the skill of Todleben, and the energy of the defenders.

On the night of the 10th an effort was to move down six 32-pounders to a battery prepared for them in an advanced position on the left; but the mud was of such tenacity that the guns all stuck fast, 300 men scarcely being sufficient to move a single gun. The ropes broke—the Russians opened fire, and the first gun moved was struck by a Russian ball and disabled: several men were killed and wounded. The commander-in-chief of the French army wrote:—"Since the arrival of Omar Pasha and his picked divisions, we

think that the most advantageous thing that could happen for our allied armies, would be to be attacked by the Russian army in the excellent positions which we occupy. We have for a long time supposed that his intention was to march against our lines at the opening of the fire against the place, consequently, in order to excite the enemy in the town, and to provoke him to exterior aggression, we have judged it useful to have the fire opened yesterday, with the whole of the French and English batteries. The commanders-in-chief agreed to continue that fire, without precipitation, but also without hesitation, and to profit by the favourable chances which it might offer, either against the place or against the relieving army."

On the 11th the allies opened their cannonade with great vigour—the air was continually cleft by shot and shell, and the earthworks of the defence gave tokens of yielding under the iron deluge; the Mamelon especially suffered. The French plied their shot from the Inkerman batteries, and the English mortars sent their messengers of death continually. The riflemen in front were engaged with more than their usual alacrity, and the sharp ring of their pieces could be heard all over the lines in the intervals of the uproar of the cannonade. The expedition to Eupatoria having been recalled, the troops re-entered Sebastopol, and fully manned its batteries. In the early part of the day, however, the Round Tower only fired occasionally, but the guns of the Redan and the Garden Batteries fired with the utmost rapidity. The aim was not precise, and the allies suffered comparatively little: destruction was poured by the latter among the men by whom these batteries were so vigorously worked. For a time rain and fog impaired the facility with which the English more especially dropped their shells into the enemy's lines; but the rain ceased late in the evening, and the fight was renewed with the same fury as before. The Round Tower had by this time exhibited considerable dilapidation, and the embrasures in the Redan were in various places cut up. It was, however, evident, at the close of the day, that the batteries of the allies were not yet near enough to make such an impression upon the huge earthworks as would open the way for an assault. Several incidents of interest occurred in the English lines. One of the splendid 13-inch mortars burst, the fragments sweeping the traverses, and yet not a man was even wounded. General Bizot, accompanying General Niel to the English works, was struck by a rifle-ball, which inflicted a mortal wound. This officer had distinguished himself very much in the Algerine wars of France. He had much of the respon-

sibility of the engineering mistakes in the earlier part of the siege, when his opinion was permitted, most unfortunately, to overrule that of our own chief officer of engineers, Sir John Burgoyne. The remaining Lancaster gun was burst by a shot, putting six men *hors de combat*. The officers considered the gun no loss, from its irregular action; but this partly arose from prejudice, for no other description of gun in the works of the allies effected so much destruction upon the works of the enemy. The Naval Brigade were the chief sufferers during the day, the enemy having directed upon their guns a hot and sustained fire. During the bombardment, up to the evening of the 11th, the brigade lost forty killed and wounded. After nightfall the French threw shot and rockets into the western portion of the town; the British continued incessantly to shell the opposing batteries. During the three days the bombardment lasted, Lord Raglan, Sir John M'Neil, Colonel Tulloch, and Generals Brown and Pennecfather, visited the front, inspecting the works, and watching the progress of the cannonade.

The *Invalides Russe*, of the 22nd of April, gave the Russian account of these first three days of the bombardment, and of the events immediately preceding, in terms as follow:—

"From the 25th to the 26th of March (6th to 9th of April), the operations of the enemy continued the same, that is to say, by their approaches they have advanced slowly towards the Kamtschatka lunette, and on other points they constructed batteries in the approaches already existing; as regards their fire, it was very weak, and directed almost exclusively against our works of counter-approach of Volhynia, Selinghinsk, and Kamtschatka.

"On the 26th of March (7th of April) they attempted, by mining galleries, to approach nearer Bastion No. 4, but their subterraneous works were not of great importance. To oppose them we opened new mines on our side.

"On the 27th March (8th of April), during the night, we confined our labours to repairing the damage done to our works, to deepening our trenches, and to increasing the thickness of the epaulments and the height of the traverses. The enemy worked in their trenches beyond the cemetery, and opened embrasures in the new grand epaulment. When the mist cleared it was observed that the enemy had prolonged their trenches against the salient angle of Bastion No. 3. During the day the firing of musketry was not discontinued along the whole line of the fortifications.

"On the 28th of March (9th of April), at half-past five in the morning, the enemy opened a tremendous cannonade from all their batteries (250 guns in all), which continued

till evening. On this occasion 20,000 projectiles were thrown into the town. During the night the enemy carried on a brisk bombardment. On the same day the enemy's fleet got up its steam, but did not weigh anchor, owing to the heavy sea running.

"On the 29th of March (10th of April), in the morning, the enemy renewed the cannonade: their object was evidently to dismount the guns of our fortifications. On our side we replied with success; we did great damage to many of their batteries, and in less than four hours we silenced fifty of their guns. To judge from this circumstance their loss must have been considerable. On the same morning the enemy's vessels again got up their steam at an early hour, stood out to sea, and then drew up in front of the bay beyond range, but did not open fire. In the evening the large ships formed in two lines; the frigates and steamers formed a third line, and the whole fleet cast anchor. In these two days we had 4 officers and 141 men killed, and 15 officers and 673 men wounded. Among the killed are the brave and worthy commandant of battery, the captain of corvette *Schemiakine*, and the midshipman Povalo-Schveikosky, who gave great promise. Among the seriously wounded are three distinguished naval officers, Lieutenant Lyoff (since dead), Lieutenant Zavalishine, and Lieutenant Krassovsky; also Lieutenant-colonel of artillery Rosenthal, and Major Volotskoi, of the infantry regiment Brziess-Litvski—both of them very brave and intelligent officers.

"In the days of the 28th and 29th of March (9th and 10th of April), the enemy dismounted some of our guns and gun-carriages, but they were immediately replaced by others; all the damage (moreover, small) done to our epaulments and batteries was also successfully repaired.

"In the night between the 29th and 30th of March (10th and 11th of April) the enemy again bombarded the town with great vivacity, but without doing us much harm. On the 30th of March (11th of April), six chosen companies of French made a bold attack on our positions (*logements*) in advance of Bastion No. 5. They got temporary possession of them, and immediately set to work to convert them into trenches, but we drove them out with grape. Two hand-to-hand combats followed with sword and bayonet, after which our sharpshooters re-occupied the positions. In the morning of the same day the enemy opened a most violent cannonade from all their pieces, which slackened after a short time, but was renewed, with great vivacity, towards evening. Our garrison behaves in the most heroic manner. Our loss on the 30th of March (10th of April) has not yet been exactly ascertained."

In the above quotation reference is made to a combat between the French and Russians on the 11th. It was necessary, at the commencement of the bombardment, to carry several of the enemy's ambuscades, so as to allow the French engineers to enclose a portion of the cemetery in the circuit of their works, and by this means to command the bank of the ravine which was in front of the town. It was found, however, impossible to attempt the execution of this on the night of the 9th, in consequence of the dreadful state of the weather. The next night the French workmen actually accomplished this task, but appear to have fled, under the influence of unaccountable panic, when the advance companies became engaged with the enemy, who mustered strongly to interrupt the progress of operations so important. The Russians, almost unopposed, found opportunity by this shameful conduct to destroy 200 metres of gabionade immediately after it had been laid down, and remained masters of the situation. On the night of the 11th it was resolved to recommence these works, and the workmen were reminded that they were strongly supported, and must not give way in the presence of the enemy. At nine o'clock the French troops advanced, and the Russians, perceiving them to be in considerable force, retired, after a single discharge. This was frequently the case, when an obstinate contest had been determined upon. While the French sappers were filling up such works as were not comprehended in the tracing of their own engineers, the Russians returned, and, dispersing among the craggy and uneven ground, opened a galling rifle-fire upon the French supporting companies. The 48th French regiment was that in support: in a few minutes it lost seventy-three men. The Russian reserves, meanwhile, collected in the ravine, which, the French perceiving, threw from their batteries a storm of balls, which fell among the troops there thickly massed. The cries of the Russians could be heard above the din of the cannon and the rattle of the fusilade. Commandant Mangin bravely attempted to carry on the works, but the fire of the enemy was too close and fatal for his success. Throughout the whole night the combat flowed and ebbed and eddied, with this result, that the French could not accomplish the work undertaken, and many brave men perished on both sides. Mangin was carried wounded to the rear. The dawn of day saw our ally retire, baffled and beaten, leaving 250 men upon the field: many men were wounded and borne to the rear, or staggered back with the retiring troops. The freshly turned up earth of the works which the French thus pertinaciously attempted to execute was literally red with the

blood of the sappers and supporting soldiery. This repulse was felt to be so important, that a grand consultation was held the next day by the generals in chief and chief officers of engineers, in the house of the clock-tower. It was resolved by two distinct attacks to accomplish the operations which were considered to be essential to the conduct of the siege. The works towards the cemetery were comprised in one, and the works in front of the T approaches were comprised in the other. General Breton was to superintend the former; General Rivet, chief of the staff of the first corps, the latter. On the night of the 12th these undertakings were attempted. Towards the cemetery the Russians occupied six different posts, all of which were to be carried. The 98th regiment of the line was expected to accomplish this task. This corps was divided into two detachments, one led by Major Grémion, and Captain Mannist led the other. Both parties adopted the plan by which the British uniformly succeeded in this description of warfare, in which our allies were so frequently unsuccessful. Without firing a shot, they rushed forward at their utmost speed, confusing the calculations of the defenders by their rapidity of movement, and before the Russians could recover their self-possession, they were put to the bayonet. Captain Mannist fell dead across the intrenchment; Captain Boursch had scarcely leaped within the enclosure when he also was slain. The Russians took to precipitate flight; but when they reached their reserves they rallied, and their whole force opened fire upon the victorious French, who, reinforced by two companies of chasseurs, returned the Russian fire with effect.

The Russians, according to their custom with the French, filled the air with their shouts, braying of trumpets and beating of drums; but this time the workmen were not frightened, but plied the spade and the axe, erecting works, or destroying those of the enemy. In the other direction, General Rivet sent four companies of the 46th, under Major Julien, supported by a regiment of chasseurs, against the ambuscades in his direction, the defences of which, although so lately destroyed, had been reconstructed. The French were astonished at the ingenuity and activity the enemy had thus shown. At that point the French rushed forward, as at the cemetery, but not with such spirit and promptitude, and were quickly driven back upon their own trenches. Reinforced they again rushed forward, the enemy disputing the posts with heroic obstinacy; but reinforcement followed reinforcement rapidly on the side of the French, and the Russians, overwhelmed by numbers, retired, still obstinately fighting. Reinforced in turn, they charged the French: but the

Foreign Legion, and the 42nd regiment, which had so often distinguished itself in these combats, placed themselves between the tired French and their advancing foes, receiving and returning their fire. Again and again the Russians assaulted the conquered positions; but, unable to make the least impression, staggered back, as if drunk with defeat, upon their own lines. The fire then directed upon the French in occupation of the captured ambuscades was incessant; and but for the shelter afforded, and of which they skilfully availed themselves, it is hardly to be conceived that they could have endured such a constant and close discharge of musketry. It was, however, impossible to take aim, and our allies suffered less than could have been deemed possible under such circumstances. The ambuscades had become, as a French officer observed, real ramps.

French writers represent this as a victory over greatly superior numbers; but it appears that by superior numbers only were our allies enabled to conquer works so well and so resolutely defended. The Russian dead were numerous, but the loss was still heavier on the part of the victors, who had five officers killed and twelve wounded. The official report recorded 200 men "disabled." The number slain was not reported, which, in all probability, comprised twice that number, as the usual proportion of killed and wounded was in this case reversed, from the proximity of the combatants, and the obstinacy of the engagement. A great number of barrels, sand-bags, and tools, were found on the spot, showing that the occupants of these posts had intended to form there a line of bastions. From these concealments the enemy had kept the French perpetually annoyed; and, although only fifty or sixty riflemen occupied them at a time, they picked off great numbers of the French—as many as 100 men had fallen in a day from the fire of these rifle-pits. It did not redound to the glory of our gallant allies that this murderous fire was suffered so long. Neither skill nor daring adequate to the necessity of the case had been shown up to the time of the conquest above recorded. When day broke on the 13th, the Russians directed an artillery-fire upon the place; but the French secured themselves—the victory was complete. The French loss in engineer officers, within a few days, was very heavy. Not only Bizot, but commandants Masson, and Lieutenant Laurent, and Captain Mouhat, also fell. These losses of distinguished and scientific officers gave great concern to the French army. General Canrobert penned the following bombastic and absurd eulogy upon Bizot:—"It is because Bizot was a noble character, offering to all every day a model of courage, of duty indefatigably accomplished,

and of self-denial;—it is because Bizot had every virtue and every manly quality;—that God has granted him the supreme honour of falling as a soldier on the breach in face of the enemy.”

During the day of the 12th the cannonade went on along the whole line, as if the batteries were conscious of their power and eager for destruction;—volcanoes of fire and sound leaped from every embrasure, and missiles of immense force were flung against the opposing obstructions. It was obvious on the morning of the 12th that the Russians had laboured hard all the previous night to repair their broken ramparts, and replace their disabled guns. After the dawn broke, haze and rain obscured the objects of the gunners, and checked the work of destruction; but at noon the sun burst forth in the glory of an April day, and the work of havoc went forward with more certainty. Turkish, English, and French infantry officers crowded the heights, and all regarded with deep anxiety and suspense the issue of that dreadful day. Among the spectators, an English lady on horseback suddenly made her appearance, and was soon “the beheld of all beholders,” fairly competing with the battle for the attention of the spectators.

The batteries were ordered late in the afternoon to limit their firing to 120 rounds per day each gun. The British Sailors' Battery was the best worked in all the line; and those who manned it suffered severely, for the enemy made ceaseless and prodigious efforts to silence it, but in vain: it was, however, much damaged. The enemy's batteries were severely struck; the Round Tower and Mamelon were silenced. The French were as successful in their part of the common task. The town opposite their batteries was in the evening a heap of ruins. They bombarded the batteries on the north side of Sebastopol, those of the Inkerman caves, and of the Lighthouse. No. 2 of the latter they demolished. The Garden Battery and the *Batterie du Mât* again yielded to the ponderous metal of our allies. Late in the evening the battery at Careening Bay was destroyed by the British fire; and the rifle-pits and their vicinage were literally swept by the continual fire from the English lines. When night rendered the aim of the gunners imperfect, shot were no longer discharged, but bombs were used with increased energy, and their fire was kept up through the night. The British loss up to this date was only 100 men, while that of our ally, since the morning of the 9th, could not have been less than 1200, and that of the Russians probably three times these amounts united.

During the night of the 12th the British, by working hard, got the six 32-pounders into position in the advanced battery; but in the

morning, when great things were expected from these fine pieces, the Russians concentrated the fire of twenty cannon upon them, breaking and dismounting them, and damaging the battery itself; as an Irish artilleryman observed, “it was silenced before it opened its mouth.” The riflemen complained very much during the last few days of the construction of the Enfield rifles; the men were often unable to return the fire of the enemy from the bad construction of those weapons. During the 13th the Sailors' Battery bore, as the day before,—and, indeed, every day since the cannonade opened,—the brunt of the battle. Their losses were heavier than those of the whole of the siege-train. Two officers had been killed, two wounded, three contused, and seventy-five men put *hors de combat*. The sailors worked thirty-five heavy guns, inflicting extensive mischief upon the enemy, who directed his hottest fire against the tars. Their heavy losses were partly to be attributed to the reckless courage with which they exposed themselves. The two British 9-pounders which swept the rifle-pits, were both struck with the enemy's shot, and one severely injured.

A daring feat was performed by one of the gunners in the Round Tower. He crept through the embrasure, descended, and examined the profile of the work, clambered up again, and re-entered the embrasure: this he did slowly, and with the greatest composure. As he descended a ball struck within a yard of him, and a shell burst close to the embrasure by which he re-entered.

An officer corresponding with the London *Morning Post* under this date thus wrote:—“A convoy of at least from 1000 to 1200 horses arrived from the north, on the opposite side of the harbour. They appeared to be laden with ammunition; if so, an important arrival for the enemy at this juncture. The orders issued last night to those in command of the trenches, by General Jones, was that ‘the fire from every mortar and gun which can bear upon the Redan, Malakoff, and Mamelon Batteries, should be kept up steadily—the former *only* by night. Rapid fire not required.’ At daylight this morning commenced one of the most furious cannonades ever yet heard since we have been here. The heavy firing of the allies continued up to 10 A.M., when it slackened. Since then it has gone on moderately, but with good effect. The Crimean Army Fund gave 1000 gallons of porter and ale to the men at work in the trenches—a very handsome present indeed. I took a walk this morning to the French picket-house, on the left of our left attack, from which place I could get a general view of the siege from Inkerman to the sea on the left. It strikes me with wonder the vastness of the undertaking. Clouds

of white smoke along the line of works of the allies spoke their position. It really was a beautiful sight to witness the firing from so many deadly weapons almost as far as the eye could reach. I am thinking that it is the intention of the commanders to carry the place by storm, and that very shortly—at least to try. Sealing-ladders were taken down last night, and more go to-night into the trenches in readiness. I also am told that the general to lead the party will be Sir Richard England."

On the night of the 13th, and early morning of the 14th, a sortie was made from the Flag-staff Battery upon the left of the French. The outposts were driven in, and the French advanced works actually entered; but our ally, who had his supports so placed as to be immediately available, advancing, the Russians were driven upon their works, and bayoneted in their own trenches in considerable numbers. Supported in turn, the French were driven back once more; but, reinforced, they pushed back the enemy, fighting desperately as he slowly retired upon his works. Fresh troops still arriving from the French, the Russian works were again entered, and their guns might easily have been spiked had the French, in anticipation of their success, been provided with the means of doing so. They attempted to hold possession of their conquest; but the Russians directed upon them so furious a fire of grape and canister, that they had to retire. The whole of the Russian lines opposed to the French then blazed with fire, which was responded to with even superior energy, the French firing "bouquets" from their mortars—a name given to discharges of four or five shells at a time from the same mortar. The French loss was very heavy—six officers killed, nine wounded, and 300 men killed or disabled. This report was probably beneath the reality. The Russian loss was considerably more.

The *Invalide Russe*, reporting telegraphic despatches up to the 15th, thus describes the course of events:—"From the 30th of March (11th of April) to the 3rd (15th) of April, a report from Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff of this latter date announces that the enemy continue to cannonade the fortress with the greatest energy during the day, and to bombard it during the night. Notwithstanding the rapid firing and the concentration of the fire of their batteries, which mount 350 guns, of which eighty are mortars, the loss of our garrison cannot comparatively be considered very great. We have not had many guns dismounted, owing to our fortifications having a sufficient number of traverses, and to our batteries being sheltered by blindages. During the day the fire of our artillery is also inces-

sant; thanks to the coolness and skill with which it is served, many of the enemy's guns have been dismounted, and the embrasures of some of the batteries knocked in. All our damage is actively repaired during the night. The dismounted guns are replaced by new ones, and the loss of the garrison made good by reinforcements which arrive; so that on the 3rd (15th) of April Sebastopol was as strong as before the bombardment."

The fleet rendered good service during the dark nights. The bearings of the entrance of the harbour being well known, ships got up steam, ran in, poured broadsides into the southern portion of the place, and got out again before much mischief could be received. The *Valorous* went in too close, and received a shot through her paddle-boxes; she had some difficulty in hauling off.

On the 14th Lord Raglan wrote home to Lord Panmure; but his despatch throws no additional light on any of these transactions.

On the 15th our allies had planned the explosion of sixteen chambers in their mines, containing 25,000 kilogrammes (50,000 lbs.) of gunpowder, and nightfall was appointed for this important event. At eight o'clock the train was exploded; the report was not heard, but the effect was that of an earthquake, which was felt by the troops at a great distance. The earth was torn above the place of the concussion, displaying deep fissures, and pieces of rock were hurled high into the air. As seen from the British lines, vast columns of fire shot up into the air, as if a volcano had suddenly burst forth. One of the mines was too near a Russian mine for the explosion of it with safety to the French sappers. Only a portion, therefore, of the contemplated work was accomplished. The Flag-staff Battery was rent and shattered, and the French promptly made a lodgment among the outer ruins. Two picked companies of the 39th regiment, attended by engineers, sappers, miners, and a large body of men bearing military tools of every construction, occupied the most forcible positions which they could secure. The Russians were of course taken by surprise; all southern Sebastopol felt the shock, and the whole garrison simultaneously flew to arms. A tremendous cannonade roared along the whole line of the defence, such as had not been heard during any previous artillery-combat around the place. The ground along the attack and defence was cut by the bounding ball and bursting shell. The appearance was described by a French officer, a spectator, as that of a great city in conflagration. The French gunners having previously retired for a time, escaped this tremendous hurricane of artillery; but at the proper moment returning to their own guns, the terrible can-

cannonade of the enemy was answered as terribly. While this general fire raged around the town, the Russians directed an especial attack upon what the French called the *entonnoirs*—the hollows formed by the miners. But the troops there bravely maintained themselves, and worked indefatigably while death rained upon them. Many fell; but those who remained wrought on until they formed two ditches, four to five yards in depth, and of length proportionate for military purposes. They then worked to unite the ditches nearest to the third parallel with that parallel. While this herculean labour was proceeding, the day appeared on the horizon, and the unfinished works had to be abandoned, for, being only seventy yards from the Russian batteries, their ground was untenable in the imperfect condition of their labour upon which the day opened. One company did not, from some cause, receive the order to retire, and was obliged to remain in the shelter of one of the ditches which had fortunately been completed. To relieve them during daylight was impossible; and meantime a terrible fire of cannon swept the precincts of their shelter. When night returned the work was resumed; and so, from night to night, this war of work and combat went on until the parallel and the ditches were connected, and our ally succeeded in pushing forward his approach. In the journal of the French siege-corps there is a record of the proceedings in connection with the prosecution of this particular enterprise from the 15th to the 22nd, of which the following is an extract:—

“April 15th to the 16th.—At eight o'clock in the evening they blow up the chambers of the mines prepared before the Flagstaff Battery, and about seventy yards from the third parallel. Some of those mines have not taken fire; others have opened, by the union of the entonnoirs, two ditches, from four to five metres in depth, of which one is on the left from eighty to one hundred metres in length, and the other on the right separated by a boundary of from thirty to forty metres. Not having been able to finish the tunnels of communication between the third parallel and these entonnoirs, on account of the difficulties of the ground, nor having been able, on the other hand, to connect the entonnoirs with one another, it was necessary at daybreak to leave but one company in the ditch, and abandon the work of communication.

“16th to the 17th.—The works continue. At daybreak we abandon the left and centre entonnoirs. The one on the right has remained in the occupation of one hundred picked men.

“17th to the 18th.—During the night we

have connected the entonnoirs forming the two posts of the fourth parallel, by a sap of thirty-seven gabions, &c. At daybreak the communication between the third parallel and the entonnoirs, damaged by the enemy's artillery, has remained in very great danger; a guard has been left there.

“18th to the 19th.—We have endeavoured to improve the communications leading to the entonnoirs. The fire of the enemy's artillery was regular until two o'clock in the morning, at which hour the Russians attempted a sortie upon the two companies placed in the entonnoirs. The enemy, received with vigour, retired into the place, leaving some dead upon the spot. Towards three o'clock the enemy attempted a new sortie, which was repulsed with the same energy as the first.

“20th to the 21st.—There remains only a space of from seven to eight metres to reach the entonnoirs.

“21st to the 22nd.—We explode two mines upon the ground forming the space between the entonnoirs. The Flagstaff Battery and the batteries at the back have thrown quantities of grape-shot, grenades, and stones.”

On the 16th the firing was diminished to eighty rounds per day. In the evening the French rocket-battery set fire to a ship, and did some damage to the Dockyard buildings; but the Russians, as usual, by vigorous hard work, averted any serious consequences. A squadron of the 10th Hussars landed, and were a welcome accession to the British cavalry. During the night the town was set on fire in several places by shells from the British steamers. On the 17th the cannonade relaxed on both sides, and the allies pushed their approaches still nearer to the enemy.

Murmurs among the soldiery began now to be painfully manifest; the army despaired of victory by the artillery, and were eager, almost clamorous, for the assault. The period became one of great suspense and anxiety to the commanders-in-chief. Conferences between the generals and admirals had been frequent, and despatches of importance were transmitted by the chiefs to their respective governments:—

Before Sebastopol, April 17, 1855.

MY LORD,—The fire of both the French and English armies has been continued upon Sebastopol since I addressed your lordship on the 14th inst., and though superior to that of the enemy, it has not produced that permanent effect which might have been anticipated from its constancy, power, and accuracy. The guns of the Russians have been turned upon some of our advanced works in vast numbers, and in one particular instance the injury sustained by a battery was so great, that the unremitting exertions of Captains Henry and Walcot, and the gallantry and determination of the artillerymen under their orders, alone enabled them to keep up the fire and to maintain themselves in it. In another battery yesterday a shell burst close to the magazine, which,

in consequence, exploded, killing, I am much concerned to say, one man, wounding two most severely, and seven in a less degree. Both the batteries I have mentioned have been repaired, and restored to their original condition.

I enclose the list of casualties that have arisen between the 13th and 15th instant. I have to lament the loss of two young and promising officers, who had only lately joined the army, Lieutenant Preston, of the 88th regiment, and Lieutenant Mitchell, of the artillery; and I regret to add that two others have been severely wounded, Captain Green, of the East India Company's service, who had been employed throughout the siege as an assistant engineer, with great credit to himself and every advantage to the service, and Captain Donovan, of the 23rd, who has most zealously served from the commencement of the campaign.

The French blew up several small mines in front of the Bastion du Mat after sunset on Sunday evening, with a view to establish a parallel upon the spot. This operation greatly alarmed the enemy, who at once commenced a heavy fire of cannon and musketry in every direction from that part of the town, which they kept up for a considerable time. It occasioned no harm upon our left attack, upon which a part of it was directed, and I hope did little injury to our allies.

Several hundreds of the Russian cavalry and a small body of Cossacks appeared on the low range of heights in front of Balaklava this morning, and remained about an hour, when they retired, the greater portion by the bridge of Traktar. The object of this movement was probably a reconnaissance.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Pannure, &c.

RAGLAN.

General Canrobert, in his despatch, thus addressed the French Minister of War:—

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,—I have the honour to render you an account of our successive operations before this place. After having maintained a fire during the day with a marked superiority over that of the enemy, we advanced our approaches during the nights between the 9th and 12th in the direction of the Flagstaff Bastion, struggling all the time with success against the posts, supported by strong reserves, which the enemy keeps in his ambuscades. In the night between the 13th and 14th, General Pelissier took efficacious measures to assure to us the possession of the ground upon which the engineers were to advance towards the Central Bastion. The operation was divided into two parties—that of the right directed by General Rivet; that of the left, towards the cemetery, directed by General Breton. First of all, the enemy's ambuscades were carried with great vigour by four companies of the 46th, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Julien, and a company of the 5th Chasseurs (Lieutenant Copri). The resistance of the enemy was most energetic, and the reserves made two or three vigorous attacks, but which could not overcome the resolution of our companies engaged. Supported by a detachment of the Foreign Legion (Captain Robert), two companies of the 42nd (Captain Beauregard), and a company of the 14th (Lieutenant Sauve), they valiantly maintained their ground. The ambuscades, notwithstanding the solidity of their construction, were razed. On the left and in the rear the work of the engineers was protected by three companies of the 26th, under the orders of Captain Michael, whose arrangements were most excellent, and who was wounded at the head of his troop. While these events were taking place, General Breton caused to be carried on the left, with the same energy and success, all the Russian ambuscades of the cemetery, by six companies of the 98th, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Grémion. Those companies, reinforced during the action by two others of the 9th battalion of Chasseurs, gave proofs of the most remarkable intrepidity and solidity. The 98th (23rd *Léger*) made here a brilliant *début*. The enemy gave way after a very sharp fire, which did not cause our men to retreat even for a moment. These ambuscades were occupied and destroyed like those on the right. Protected by this vigorously conducted double

operation, the engineers were enabled to complete their levels, and push on their works with activity. A new parallel was formed; we propose to turn it to great advantage. In this nocturnal affair, which was very brisk, and which does the greatest honour to our troops, we had 40 men killed, of whom 4 were officers, and 117 wounded. As regards our approaches on the Flagstaff Bastion, the effects of the enemy's artillery, acting at a very short distance, almost rendered them impossible, or at least they were only practicable at a considerable loss. Under these circumstances we endeavoured to form a trench halfway between our third parallel and the salient of the bastion with the assistance of our mines, which had been conveniently placed for that purpose. The train was fired on the evening of the 15th. The operation was perfectly successful. The engineer officers and sappers were immediately enabled to lodge themselves in an immense fossé, of an average depth of four metres, the possession of which was not disputed by the enemy. Their troops lined the fortification, and kept up a sharp fire of musketry and cannon. Our mortars, on their part, sent a shower of bombs upon the thickly-massed troops; and I am informed by a non-commissioned officer who deserted, that the garrison there suffered considerable loss. Our workmen, though in a difficult position, worked actively all the night on the disputed ground, to complete as much as possible the crowning of the shafts, and to connect the new trench with the third parallel. That night the troops continued their labour with ardour; 100 picked men of the 74th now occupy this fourth parallel during the day. In the midst of these combats and laborious works the troops have always conducted themselves with the greatest firmness and shown the best spirit. General Pelissier, who commands the left, is satisfied beyond measure. To the right, on the side of the Malakoff Tower, the superiority of our artillery has also been maintained, but without succeeding in silencing that of the besieged, except, however, in the two works of counter-approach of Careening Battery, which have not fired a gun for the last two days. In this part of our attack, as in the other, we advance slowly, perfecting our existing trenches, and leaving nothing to chance. A new battery, established opposite the counter-approach, called the *Mamelon Vert* (Green Hill Battery), the fire of which was opened yesterday morning, has produced good effects. According to deserters, the garrison has suffered considerable losses, especially the marine artillerymen, who form its most vital link, and show the greatest moral courage. The Central and Flagstaff Batteries are seriously damaged. Their armament has been repeatedly rendered unserviceable; but the almost inexhaustible resources of the place in artillery do not yet fail them, and every night thousands of workmen repair the damage which most requires it.

Prince Gortschakoff also communicated with his government at this juncture, concerning the state of affairs from his point of view:—"On the 16th, 17th, and 18th, the fire of the enemy was not so sustained as on the preceding days. Our batteries have replied successfully, particularly by their cross-fire in front of the 4th bastion, directed against the works which the enemy is actively executing against that fortification. The injuries caused by the day's fire are repaired during the night. In the night between the 18th and 19th, one of our battalions, successfully and at a very slight loss, effected a sortie, with the object of destroying the enemy's most advanced works of approach. In general, the loss of the garrison has been much less within the last two or three days than at the commencement of the bombardment."

CHAPTER LXXX.

BOMBARDMENT CONTINUED.—RECONNAISSANCE ON THE TCHERNAYA BY OMAR PASHA AND THE TURKISH ARMY.—CONQUEST OF RUSSIAN RIFLE-PITS BY THE BRITISH.—FAILURE OF THE BOMBARDMENT.—GENERAL OPERATIONS BEFORE SEBASTOPOL TO THE END OF APRIL.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH GENERALS.

"We talk, and do nothing; 'tis shame for us all:
so God sa' me, it is shame to stand still; it is shame,
by my hand: and there is throats to be cut, and works
to be done; and there is nothing done!"

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry V.*

DURING the night of the 17th, and the early morning of the 18th, the bombardment was very heavy, but the cannonade was not renewed on the 18th with the energy of previous days. The French opened a warm cannonade, which they gradually slackened; the English relaxed theirs still more. The Russians seemed to regulate the strength of their fire by that of their opponents, and during the latter portion of the day they molested the British very little, who principally occupied themselves repairing works and guns. Our artillerymen were quite worn out; and it was evident that without reinforcements to that arm of the service, the energy of the bombardment in the English lines could not be maintained. The great wants of our army were proper reliefs of men, well-constructed weapons, and good tools to work with. A nation that is opposed on principle to a standing army, may easily and honourably account for its inability to meet the demand for men on the breaking out of a great war; but the arms and implements with which its troops are furnished ought to be honestly manufactured; and there should be at least intelligence enough in the civil and military departments at home to examine carefully all arms and tools sent out to the army in the field. In this particular, perhaps, no nation was ever so disgraced as ours was during the years 1854-5. Neither the army nor navy was equipped as both should have been; and the neglect and incompetence were treason to the country, and murder to the brave by whom that country was so nobly defended. During the remaining period of the bombardment the British were put to great disadvantage by the bursting of shells before they reached their destination, and from a cause which in a lesser degree impeded success in the previous days of the bombardment, namely—the imperfection of the fuses; but many of the shells were found to have *no fuses*. In wet weather the Enfield rifles became altogether useless, and the tools of the sappers often broke after a few hours' use.

On the 19th the aides determined upon a reconnaissance of the Russian army in the field, and the duty was assigned to Omar Pasha and a large force of Turks, supported by French

and English detachments. The enemy had been seen in considerable numbers around Tchorgoun, and it was deemed desirable to discover his object. Twelve battalions of Turkish infantry, four squadrons of cavalry, and about thirty guns, constituted the force led forth by Omar Pasha, to which the French added a few squadrons of horse, and a battery of horse artillery; and the English sent two squadrons of heavy cavalry, two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, lately landed, and a half troop of horse artillery. General Forey, of the French service, and Colonel Parlbv, of the British, were attached to this force, which was under the sole authority of the Turkish general. He was, however, accompanied by General Canrobert and Lord Raglan, and by other officers of eminence. Omar and his troops left the right of the allied positions early in the morning in the direction of Kamara. The Cossack pickets fled in disorder. Everything in the village, except the church, was destroyed by Omar Pasha's advanced guard. From Kamara he proceeded in the direction of the hills by the Woronzoff Road, so as to command a view of the whole valley of the Tchernaya. A few sotnias of Cossacks were dispersed on the hills; their videttes kept a sharp look out, and the whole fell back without coming in range of the English horse artillery, which displayed a laudable disposition to scatter a few shots among them. As the Turkish advance-guard ascended the hills, they found huts in which the Cossacks had taken shelter, and considerable quantities of good forage for their horses: huts and forage were immediately destroyed. Omar Pasha placed six battalions of infantry and the field-batteries on these hills, and descended down the road to Tchorgoun with the cavalry, horse artillery, and a British rocket-battery which had joined him, the remainder of the infantry closely following. Not an inhabitant was to be seen; but a corps of Cossacks dodged the force, always keeping out of gun-range. The rocket brigade, however, contrived to outwit them, and sent a shower of rockets among them, which sent them precipitately in every direction but that of the brigade. The object of the reconnaissance having been accomplished, Omar

Pasha fell back slowly. The movements of the Turkish army, and their warlike appearance attracted the admiration of Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and the other notables of the French and British who accompanied the advance. No one would suppose, from the appearance of Omar's troops, that the exchequer at Constantinople ever incurred depletion: the men were well clothed and well accoutred; their artillery was excellent, both as to men and material; discipline reigned mildly but firmly throughout the host. The gay uniforms looked well in the searching spring light; the sheen of the lances, bayonets, and musket-barrels could be seen far off from the allied lines; their banners were like cloth of gold, and the star and the crescent brilliantly decorated the standards. Their movements were martial and regular, and no body of men in motion could appear more soldierly. The Turkish slipper, was a very great impediment, which, although it gave lightness to their movements while passing over the Tchernaya valley—then richly clad with wild-flowers, and fragrant with thyme and other sweet odours—yet exposed them to suffering when they ascended the rocky hills, where loose fragments of sharp stones abounded everywhere. Great numbers of the infantry marched back with bleeding feet, and many sustained severe lacerations. As they marched over the old ground contested at the battle of Balaklava, the soldiery displayed more curiosity than is usual with Turks. They saw the body of a Tunisian lying across one of the redoubts, where he was killed in his efforts to escape at the fatal moment of the attack there. The field of battle was strewn with cavalry caps, trampled turbans, broken swords, shreds of the fez and Turkish tunie, shattered firearms, fragments of gun-carriages, and the *débris* of such material as is always strewn upon a field of battle. Many skeletons of horses remained, with the saddles of the riders or the harness of the artillery adhering to their bleached bones, the flesh having long before been devoured by dogs, foxes, and vultures. The bones of the fallen brave were also there: the Russians inhumanly neglected their burial. Alas! little did many a widowed and orphan heart in England think that the carrion bird, and the wild-dog of the Crimea, would feast upon the kind form which had been so often clasped close to them in the tenderest embrace. The conduct of the Russians in this war has won for them no praise on the ground of humanity; they were only humane when it was politic to be so, when the opinion of Europe constrained.

An incident occurred as Omar's rear-guard retired, which illustrated Russian blood-thirstiness. A poor Tartar wandered out with the

Turkish troops; he was unarmed, and had never committed an aggression upon the Russians. The Cossacks caught him as he lingered upon the field: six of them dismounted, tied his hands, and shot him as a criminal. This vindictive and bloody atrocity occurred within view of the rear-guard. Several British officers collected a few men, and were about to make a dash for his rescue, but their own force was rapidly retiring, and their orders to do the same had been peremptory. There was little time to debate the matter; the Cossack carbines settled the question of his fate before anything could be done for his deliverance. The Cossacks ventured upon a few long shots when it was quite plain that there was no danger of a chase to be apprehended.

The Turks captured a man armed with bow and arrows! who called himself a Tchegess. He had, however, an old pistol, and his coat was literally padded with cartridges. His alarm when caught was ludicrous.

The whole army was cheered by this reconnaissance, for it was generally supposed that it would lead to operations in the field—the troops having lost all confidence in the practicability of subduing the earthworks of the enemy by any power of artillery.

On the night following, a gallant exploit was performed by the British against certain rifle-pits, from which the Russians annoyed their front. The enemy did not make this mode of obstruction so effective against the English as against the French. Our riflemen contrived to find shelter and pick off the enemy in their ambuscades the moment they lifted their heads, and, when necessary, the English dashed into the ambuscades, driving out or bayoneting their occupants. The British gunners had for several days suffered from some well-established pits, within between six and seven hundred yards of their batteries. The rifle-balls constantly entered the embrasures, and too often effected some mischief. Two British 9-pounder fieldpieces were well worked, and caused considerable loss of life to the men occupying these concealments, but they gradually increased their protection, and the ground favoured them in so doing. An advanced battery was about to be opened which would necessarily be exposed to the fire of the sharp-shooters in the pits, and it was resolved to dislodge them, and, perhaps, occupy a portion of the ambuscades. The accomplishment of this stern task (as our allies had so often found similar undertakings to be) was committed to one of the finest officers in the English army—Lieutenant-colonel Egerton, of the 77th regiment. Soon after dark he led a party of his own regiment, supported by a wing of the 33rd (or Duke-of-Wellington's own), under Lieutenant-colonel Mundy. The

darkness of the night favoured the assailants; fitful gusts of wind also gave hope that they could noiselessly approach the pits and fall upon the enemy. The Russians were never easily surprised; no troops could be more vigilant. Their sentries heard the foot-sound of the English as they passed along the traverses; the Russian sentries, upon the slightest suspicion, were accustomed to cast themselves on the ground and listen, with the instinct of savages, for every sound. Scarcely had Colonel Egerton deployed his men when a fire of rifles opened upon them, which was most galling; the 77th fired one volley, and dashed on with a bound upon the pits, where they were received by the bayonets of the garrison with steadiness; but the impetuous rush of the 77th burst over all opposition: it was as a flood rising, overflowing, penetrating everywhere, and sweeping all resistance away. The Russians were borne down or fled, and the 77th seized the two formidable pits from which so much approaching damage to our new battery was apprehended. The British engineers and sappers were in an instant at work, demolishing, creating, altering, adjusting, in every way by which the pits could be turned to the account of the captors. A gabionade was run up with amazing celerity, such as even the Russians could not equal; the bags and baskets were faced towards the enemy, so as to make the pits defensible against them by their own former labours. The trench of the nearest of the rifle-pits was sufficiently near to the advanced sap of the British to inspire the hope that our sappers, by hard work, could connect them before morning. The Russians determined that the conquest achieved should not be retained with impunity, and accordingly a terrible fire of shot and shell, grape and canister, was showered upon the pits. The English still worked on, sheltering themselves as best they could under so determined an attack of artillery: no peril, however, deterred the brave sappers from exposing themselves wherever the execution of the work required. The enemy perceiving that the stroke of the English tools went on despite their cannon, crowded their parapets with musketeers, while their sharpshooters filled the broken ground behind the abattis; but the night was too dark to take aim, and the bullets generally flew overhead, or were flattened against the rocks. The Russian officers urged their soldiery forward, but never since the battle of Inkerman could the Russian soldiers be induced to advance with the bayonet against the English, with any zeal or courage. They would not charge the pits, nor make any hand-to-hand attempt to reduce them, however great the numbers which the officers were willing to launch against the intrepid little band. The officers

advanced again and again, waving their swords, but there were none disposed to follow. The dashing manner in which the pits were carried seemed to damp the courage and hope of the enemy in any attempt at recapture by close combat. The conquerors neglected the lesser pit, and mustered their strength in the larger. It was telegraphed to head-quarters that the fire of artillery under which the men worked was tremendous; the reply of General Jones was—"Keep the pit at all hazards." They did keep it, and worked on with prodigious strength and rapidity, as if every man dug and worked for his life, and that the successful issue of the siege depended upon his pick or mattock. At last it became obvious to the Russian general of the night that he too must do something "at all hazards." A strong column of men were gathered together and harangued upon the glory of "dying like martyrs for their holy religion," and they were led against the pits, encouraged in every way by the noble and dauntless bearing of their officers. The English received them, using all the advantages conferred by the labours they had bestowed upon the position; a close and deadly fire was directed into the mass of approaching men, every shot of which seemed to tell as if fired into a woolpack. The Russians hesitated, but were pressed on by fresh troops behind, to storm the pits; they were received by the bayonets of the 77th, and all that attempted to enter the ambuscade were pierced by these formidable weapons. Still numbers came thickly on; but the engineers and sappers seizing muskets and bayonets, instead of their own implements, charged the assailing enemy with desperate determination. The fight was fierce, and the cries of the Russians, as they received their death thrusts, rose wildly through the blustering night. Beaten back from the pits, they were thrown into confusion in the darkness; and while yet their officers, with laudable zeal, sought to reorganise and rally them, the 77th leaped out from their ambuscades, poured a sure volley into the undecided mass, charged them with the bayonet, and drove them in full flight up to their very batteries. A chance shot struck a very young officer, Mr. Audley Lempière, entering his lungs. This youth was a favourite in the regiment. He called to Colonel Egerton as he fell, who took him up and tenderly carried him to the trench, where he died in his arms. This done, Colonel Egerton, turning to his men, began to speak to them with words of encouragement, when a rifle-ball struck him upon the upper lip, passed through the neck, dividing the vertebræ, and he fell dead. He was a magnificent officer. Mr. Woods tastefully and philosophically wrote of him:—"The death of Colonel Egerton was most

deeply and sincerely lamented, not alone by the light division, but by all who had either the honour of his acquaintance, or who knew the high and well-deserved reputation which he enjoyed in the service. He was a skilful soldier, an accomplished scholar, and with the bravery of an English officer united those warm and gentle feelings which, *except in the highest natures, so rarely survive long practical acquaintance with the world.*" This encomium is true; he was a patriot, a hero, and a gentle, loving man. The words of Burns might be justly applied to him:—

"My patriot falls; but shall he be unsung,
While empty greatness saves a worthless name?
No; ev'ry muse shall join her tuneful tongue,
And future ages hear his growing fame."

Colonel Egerton and Mr. Lemprière were not the only sacrifices to the duty of that night among deserving officers, Lieutenant Baynes, of the engineers, was also mortally wounded.

The pits were bravely held, and the British not only made good their conquest, but succeeded in connecting the trench with the advanced sap, and poured a biting fire of musketry and rifles into the flank of the nearest rifle-pits, which lay beyond the circuit of their works.

The sailors' brigade still suffered; 135 men were killed and wounded from the 9th to the 20th. Up to this date the English artillery had only five men killed, and thrice the number seriously wounded; but many were hit who made no complaint, and almost all suffered from contusions and fatigue. The engineers and sappers and miners lost very few; but, like the artillery, contusions, which were not complained of, almost disabled many, and all were borne down by relentless labour—one man doing the work which properly belonged to three.

The French still pushed on their works, and their loss was severe; every night 100 men were put *hors de combat*. The French engineers openly expressed their anxiety concerning this terrible drain upon the French army. Reports were spread in the French lines of various kinds, some encouraging and others the reverse, which kept the minds of the French troops in agitation. It was generally believed that the Russians were suffering so much from the French artillery, that they were determined upon a grand sortie, which would decide the siege one way or the other. The Baron Bazancourt describes the perturbed feeling of the French army thus—"If among certain parties impatience was great, apprehensions were not less so." The feelings of the commanders-in-chief can hardly be gathered from their despatches. Lord Raglan, writing home on the 21st, referred to the reconnaissance of Omar Pasha and the battle for the rifle-pits, but was silent as to general affairs, and the impatience and dissatisfaction which prevailed among the soldiery:—

Before Sebastopol, April 21, 1855.

MY LORD,—Omar Pasha having considered it expedient to make a reconnaissance in front of Balaklava, with the view to ascertain what force the enemy had on the Tchernaya, he proceeded at daylight on the 19th instant, by the extreme right of Sir Colin Campbell's position, towards Kamara, with about twelve battalions of Turkish infantry, having in the plain on its left a body of French cavalry and a battery of horse artillery, under General Forey, and two squadrons of heavy cavalry, and two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, the whole of which regiment have, I am happy to say, arrived, and half a troop of horse artillery, under Colonel Parlbj, these detachments of French and English troops having been placed at his highness's disposal by General Canrobert and myself. The enemy showed only a few Cossacks on this side of the river, who remained on a height overlooking Clagouria till driven from it by a few discharges of rockets by the French artillery, and on the other side, behind the village, a small force with four guns only was visible. Omar Pasha did not think it desirable to move across the river, but withdrew, after he had satisfied himself that the enemy was not in strength, and the troops returned to their camps, the infantry covered by the cavalry and artillery. The appearance of the Turkish army was very satisfactory.

The rifle-pits, in front of the approach from the advance of our trenches on the extreme right, were attacked and carried by assault the night before last in the most gallant manner, by a detachment of the 77th regiment, under Colonel Egerton, forming part of the additional force sent to reinforce the guard of the trenches in the evening. The resistance of the enemy, although obstinate, was speedily overcome by the impetuosity of our troops, and the pit, which it was desirable to retain, was, without the loss of a moment, connected with our approach, and thereby furnished protection to the working party to continue its labours without interruption for a considerable time. At the interval, however, of about three hours the enemy brought a heavy fire of artillery and musketry upon the party in advance of the pit, into which they retired, and which they effectually defended and maintained; but this brilliant achievement was not accomplished without considerable sacrifice of life, and it is most painful to me to have to announce to your lordship the death of Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, who was unfortunately killed when forming troops for the support of those on the extreme advance, and of that of Captain Lemprière, of the same regiment, who fell in the first affair, in which also Colonel Egerton received a contusion that only incapacitated him for duty for a few minutes; and five officers were wounded, three of them dangerously. Colonel Egerton was an officer of superior merit, and conducted all his duties, whether in the camp or in the field, in a manner highly to his own honour, and greatly to the advantage of the public; and her majesty's service could not have sustained a more severe loss, and it is so felt in this army and in the 77th where he was so much beloved, and is deeply lamented. Captain Lemprière was a very young and most promising officer. Captain Owen, whose leg has since been amputated, and Lieutenant Baynes, are both most valuable officers of engineers, as is Captain King, of the same corps, who was wounded two nights before. Brigadier-general Lockyer, who was the general officer of the trenches in the right attack, Lieutenant-colonel Mundy, of the 33rd (who succeeded to the command of the troops engaged in the operation on the death of Colonel Egerton), and Captain Gwilt, of the 31st, deserve to be most favourably mentioned, and Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, the officer of engineers in charge of the right attack, distinguished himself, as he has done on many previous occasions, in a remarkable manner. The conduct of the troops was admirable.

In my despatch of the 17th I informed your lordship that a magazine had exploded in one of our batteries; but I omitted to state that Captain Dixon, of the Artillery, availed himself of that opportunity to evince the coolest judgment and most determined gallantry, by instantly opening a gun upon the enemy, notwithstanding the confusion which the bursting of the shell had occasioned, the number of men who had suffered from it, and the great damage the battery had sustained.

I have the satisfaction to report to your lordship the

arrival of the 48th and Royal Regiments from Corfu, in H.M.S. *Leopard* and *Sidon*.

I have omitted to mention in the body of this letter, that two squadrons of Turkish cavalry were also in the plain.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Pannure, &c.

RAGLAN.

On the early morning of the 21st, the English resolved to storm a formidable rifle-pit opposite their right attack. The troops told off for this enterprise were the 41st (Welsh regiment), and a strong party of engineers and sappers. They ran at the rifle-pits as fast as they could run, at the same time preserving order, and at once dashed into them, the Russians running away at the first touch of the bayonet. No effort was made by the fugitives or their supports to recapture it; but the Redan opened such a fire at dawn upon the work, that in a few minutes fifteen men of the party who held it fell under the cannonade. It was obvious that the guns of the Redan so commanded the spot as to make the pit untenable: the men of the 41st, however, did not abandon it to the enemy, but entirely destroyed its ambuscades, and filled it up with earth, flattening it down. This was effected so completely, and with such coolness under a heavy fire, as must have shown the foe the impossibility of again establishing himself there—it could no longer be occupied as a “concealment.” The French established themselves securely upon the flanks of the Flagstaff batteries.

These nightly combats were harassing to all the armies engaged, and many a deed of desperate valour was performed which has never been recorded, much less rewarded as it deserved. Mr. Russell says that all descriptions of such contests must be purely imaginative, as each detachment and scattered fraction of a detachment, not perceiving in the darkness how others are engaged, considers that the peril was endured, and the chief feats were performed, by themselves. We cannot see the justice of this remark: the roll of musketry around them would sufficiently attest that others also were deeply engaged, and performing their parts. Nor are these tasks performed at random: night attacks are conducted with few men generally, on single points, or points connected upon ground pretty well known at least in its general character; and however difficult during the progress of the fray it may be for any one to estimate what has been accomplished out of his own section of operations, the historian who compares the different reports may often, without much difficulty, obtain a connected view of the whole. The imagination is as likely to exaggerate difficulties, and underrate what is performed at a given spot, and the value of its relation to the general operations, as it is to claim any especial glory for what is accomplished there.

Frequently great services have been rendered by even intelligent officers in night combats, who were astonished afterwards to find that they had been engaged in anything of such serious importance.

On the morning of the 21st the Cossacks and the Turkish outposts skirmished in the plain of the Tchernaya, but the Cossacks were much inferior in spirit to the irregular cavalry of our ally.

By the 25th the bombardment was nearly suspended, and the despondency and disappointment of the English artillerymen were extreme, while our infantry openly expressed their impatience, and desired to be led against the intrenchments of the foe. On the 24th, another reconnaissance was made by the Turkish infantry and the English cavalry and horse artillery, a brigade from Bosquet's corps being held in support. Both French and English extended their saps. The English guns, although only firing thirty rounds per day, still did considerable execution. The French cannonade was conducted with more energy, as our ally had plenty of men to relieve the gunners. The Russian army in the field was proved by the reconnaissances to be very small. Our enemy always keeping in view the importance of frequent relief to the gunners and workmen, preserved a sufficient garrison; the sharpshooters in the ambuscades were the hardest worked, and most useful portion of the Russian army. This force grew up, like the earthworks, in the presence of the besiegers; the Muscovite riflemen at the beginning of the siege were far inferior to the French, and still more so in comparison with the English, but by the date of which we write they were in every respect equal to either, except in courage. On the 24th, Lord Raglan sent home a despatch, in which, after naming the men who captured and destroyed the rifle-pit, on the evening of the 21st, he expressed his apprehension of greater loss of life in the future conduct of the siege.

Before Sebastopol, April 24.

MY LORD,—Nothing material has occurred since I made my report to your lordship on the 21st inst. The Russian rifle-pit, immediately in front of that which was taken on the night of the 19th, was destroyed by a party of volunteers on the morning of the 21st inst. These were headed by Lieut. and Adjutant Walker, of the 30th regiment, who is stated to be an excellent officer, and to have conducted himself on the occasion in the most spirited manner. The pit was found to be empty, and being useless was immediately levelled and filled in. The enemy did not interrupt the work.

I enclose the list of casualties, which, I regret to say, is heavy. The nearer we approach the place the more loss is to be apprehended. Hitherto it has been less than might have been expected.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Pannure, &c.

RAGLAN.

The correspondent of the *Smyrna Impartial*, already quoted, furnished the most correct summary of the intervening events given to the public:—

Before Sebastopol, April 21 to 21.

"At the centre and the left the fire of the allies has considerably slackened, as it is not judged desirable to exhaust too quickly the store of ammunition, which so many months were required to accumulate. But the question is, whether the enemy will not take advantage of this nearly total suspension of our fire to repair the ravages made in his fortifications and to remount his batteries?"

"*Sunday, April 22.*—The fire of musketry was very warm on the left attack the whole of last night, and cannon-shots boomed in quick succession. We have sprung several mines in the cemetery, between the Central Bastion and that of the Quarantine, in order to bring our new works nearer the crenellated wall. Unfortunately these mines did not produce their effect on the side intended; the explosion was rather towards us than towards the enemy, and the fragments which were set flying killed and wounded several of our own men. We set to work immediately in the craters, notwithstanding the fire of rifles and grape. The works made good progress last night. We shall soon have there, too, a fourth complete parallel at less than 150 metres from the crenellated wall. In the angle of that wall and the left flank of the Central Bastion there is at present an open breach, that is computed to be about 150 metres broad. All the adjoining houses are dismantled and riddled by our shot.

"*Monday, April 23.*—The night has passed at the trenches with the greatest calm. Guns have been fired at rare and distant intervals. All is equally quiet this morning. The enemy does not appear to be more desirous than ourselves of continuing the fire. A spectator might say that both sides were in an attitude of expectation. And yet no one here thinks peace at all likely. But if the Russians do not fire a great deal, they work very hard. I have just paid a flying visit to the left attack, and seen nearly the whole of the English one; I was amazed at the rapidity with which the enemy has repaired the injuries sustained by his defensive works. The huge breach, for instance, that I had seen with my own eyes in the angle of the crenellated wall near the Central Bastion, hardly exists any longer; sacks filled with earth and piled on each other rise like buttresses to within a third of the regular wall in height, and thus stop the gap.

"The land fortifications which terminate the defences of the place on the Quarantine side, the Quarantine Bastion itself, the Central and Flagstaff Bastions, the faces of which, together with the parapets and embrasures, seemed one mass of ruins, and the batteries of which were silenced, are now in a state for re-opening their fire. At first sight, their outside appearance is much the same as it has been for some days

past, but when we examine them with the glass we discover that, amid the dismantled or battered terraces, the enemy has made openings to serve for embrasures. It is just the same with the batteries of the barracks and the arsenal, in front of the English attack.

"Fresh reinforcements reach the Russians every day. We see from the heights to the north of the town their tents, which are pitched in vast squares. In the Inkerman Wood and at the mouth of the gorge in the mountains of Vofouska, near Balaklava, we can see with the glass, large encampments which were not there a fortnight ago. The enemy is evidently collecting his forces, and means to try if he cannot keep the allies shut up in the triangle of seven or eight square leagues we occupy in the Crimea. Perhaps it is with the object of compelling him to draw off some of the forces in our rear, that Omar Pasha has just taken back his forces to Eupatoria. That appears to me to be more probable than the necessity of so sudden a return for the defence of that small place, still held by nearly 25,000 men, and sufficiently fortified now to be secure against any sudden assault whatever.

"This afternoon, between three and four o'clock, the enemy hoisted a white flag on Fort Constantine, at the mouth of the harbour. The flag remained there nearly twenty-five minutes. During this time the batteries of the place did not suspend their fire, and, of course, the allies answered it. I don't know what is meant, and could not even guess, for no flag was flying on the staff a little to the left of the Quarantine Bastion, where the flag of truce is generally run up.

"*Tuesday, April 24.*—All night long there has been a very hot fire of musketry, and a heavy cannonade going on, chiefly on the left attack. There has probably been some engagement between our troops and those of the enemy, either for dislodging the ambuscades or for defending the workmen attacked by the Russians in their works, which are rapidly approaching completion, especially those facing the salient of the Flagstaff Bastion. In the *locus standi* gained a week ago, we are actually constructing a formidable breaching battery, a distance of only sixty metres from the bastion. If the fortifications were of masonry, the result at such a distance would be infallible, but what will be the effect of breaching earthen terraces?"

"P.S.—I have this instant received precise information of what occurred last night in front of the Flagstaff Bastion. The Russians sprang a mine at 11 p.m., for the purpose of getting into the craters of the ground, where I told you we are constructing a breaching battery. Their mine produced no effect. A second one, which exploded at midnight, was slightly more successful, but without killing many of our men;

but a third mine, fired at three o'clock this morning, did us a great deal of harm. Still the enemy was not able to penetrate our works, finding in the bayonets of our intrepid soldiers an impenetrable rampart."

In consequence of the mining success recorded in the quotation from the correspondent of the Smyrna Journal, the Russians were enabled to dig rifle-pits close to the new French saps, and to offer from them formidable obstruction to further progress. The French had 200 men killed and wounded in their efforts to take these pits, of which the Russians continued to hold possession; our allies being less fortunate in this description of combat with the enemy than in any other, whereas the British seemed to have a peculiar faculty for turning the Russians out of their ambuscades with little loss.

On the 25th, the second battalion of the 1st Royal Scots joined the second division, which were reviewed by General Pennefather, and presented an appearance of which any general might be proud. Their discipline was perfect, and the air of hardihood, and the soldierly bearing by which they were characterised, gave satisfaction to all who took part in the inspection. The French commander-in-chief held two inspections on a large scale; one, of the corps commanded by Bosquet, the other, of that commanded by Pelissier. The whole of each *corps d'armée*, except the men required in the batteries and on trench-guard, turned out and marched past the general. The review of Bosquet's corps took place on the ridge of the plateau overlooking the valley of Inkerman. The Russians crowded the Inkerman heights, from which they could see the flashing bayonets, the glittering eagles, and the ponderous artillery pass along in grand and martial procession. The next day the other corps was reviewed, and similar ceremonies were gone through. The general was received in silence, the colonels raised a cheer of "*Vive l'empereur!*" as each battalion passed, which was caught up by the men; but it was quite evident that General Canrobert had lost the confidence of the army, as to his ability to deal with the grave circumstances in which the failure of the bombardment, now apparent to all, had placed the troops: even the officers, whom he called in groups from several battalions and addressed, listened in silence to his words. The difficulty of the situation was greatly increased by the total inability of the English to maintain the cannonade, their artillerymen not being one-third the number sufficient for the undertaking, and their supplies of ammunition being deficient or uncertain.

The home management told fearfully upon the second bombardment at its close, as it did upon its progress. Lest our readers should

suppose that we dwell on this theme beyond its importance, we shall authenticate our remarks by a quotation from one whose truthfulness, patriotism, and ability none question. Mr. Russell, under date of the last day of April, thus writes in his journal:—"Meantime the siege ought to be going on, and as far as *our* cannon and mortars are concerned, it is suspended. What is the principal reason? Simply because Woolwich is not next door to us, and shells and fuses are not forthcoming. Why some attempt has not been made to bridge over the seas between us and our arsenals, is not for me to say. The fact is, however, plain. There are no fuses for such shells as we have, and we have plenty of fuses for shells which we have not. There are lots of 13-inch shells and no fuses for them, and there are lots of 10-inch fuses and no shells for them. Where are the shells that belonged to the fuses, and where are the fuses that belonged to the shells. Has the Purveyor got hold of them, or the Auditor-general, or the Chairman of the Bank of England? Who sent them out, or who kept them back? Who are the traitors, or the knaves, or the fools? And if they are all wise men who manage these things, how is it that we undertake to reduce, by means of a bombardment, the strongest place that was ever attacked, and have no means of carrying on that bombardment after a few days' firing? Perhaps it is quite right that this should be the case, but neither artillerymen, engineers, nor soldiers think so out here. It may be only just to remark, that it is only in shells of a particular kind, and in fuses of a certain description, that we are short, but that very kind of shell, and that very sort of fusee, are both most useful in the siege. We have railways and steamers, a secure haven, a transport corps, admirable carts, horses, mules, ponies, buffaloes, camels, oxen, drivers of all kinds of beasts of burden, collected from all parts of the habitable globe within three thousand miles of us, and yet the supply of *matériel* has run out, and our military Oliver Twists are asking for more, to the great astonishment, no doubt, of our overseers at home. The supply of ammunition which our authorities relied upon from the railway has been far exceeded, and it has not only carried up more than the estimated quantity of shot and shell, &c., but a very great amount of stores and cargo of all kind, in addition, moreover, to throwing obligations broadcast all over the army, from the generosity, kindness, and zeal of Mr. Beatty, to promote the comfort of every officer who had any little impediments to be sent to the front. Up to the week ending the 28th of April, the average amount of tonnage sent up from Balaklava to the terminus was 240 tons per diem; and on that day 180 tons of ammunition alone were forwarded by rail towards the batteries, and

deposited at the terminus. The warm clothing (furs, &c.) is being collected and packed up, to be sent to Constantinople to be cleaned, &c., and made fit for re-issue. A large number of sheepskin coats have been destroyed, which, it is believed, had competent persons been consulted, might have been saved."

Such was the position of the besiegers: the bombardment a failure, the armies discontented, and, unfortunately—worse than all, if possible, although not then known in Europe—the two chiefs at variance. Of the two, Lord Raglan was the more competent to direct any great enterprise. Canrobert was capable of commanding either a small or large body of men in action better than the English chief, having had much experience in handling large bodies of men; the English general had no experience in the command of any bodies of men great or small, except what he had gathered after the landing at Gallipoli. But Lord Raglan was a man of superior mind and education, and much better fitted, if in health, and old age had not deadened his energies, for the transaction of a large amount of public business. Canrobert could execute better than Lord Raglan—the latter could take a far more comprehensive view than the former; Canrobert had more of what the English call "pluck" in actual battle—Lord Raglan's courage was calm, passive, and negligent of peril. As Sir Walter Scott said of Louis the XI. of France—"he neither sought danger nor shunned it." Lord Raglan would not move from his proper post, although a battery was especially directing its fire upon it—Canrobert galloped forward to the place where his troops seemed most exposed, and by his presence inspired enthusiasm. The two generals were differently constituted, were mutually courteous, but never really agreed. Canrobert was also hampered by communications from Marshal Vaillant, while Lord Raglan was left to his own judgment and responsibility, where the *politics* of the campaign did not require instructions from his government. At the end of April their differences of opinion became more active. Lord Raglan pressed upon Canrobert the expediency of an assault before the enemy could recover from the exhaustion and dilapidation experienced in the cannonade, and before reinforcements arrived to him. Certainly the Russian army in the field was then smaller than it had previously been, or was permitted during the war to become; nor was the garrison so strong as to render an assault from such numerous forces hopeless. So Lord Raglan thought, and urged the assault; various positions bearing upon the ultimate conquest might in the English general's opinion be carried, even if the body of the place could not be immediately stormed. The British chief seemed to have adopted at last the views previously pressed upon

his attention by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne; Canrobert opposed all idea of an assault, and wished to detach a force to act in the field; Lord Raglan was unwilling to withdraw from before Sebastopol a large body of men, but urged Canrobert to unite with him in detaching by sea a moderate, but efficient force, with the fleets to Kertch and Yenikale, so as to cut off the Russian communications between Asia and the Crimea. His lordship had information that the Russians were about to sink ships again across the straits of Kertch, which he deemed possible, although the straits were watched by a small British force. To these most reasonable and expedient demands Canrobert offered a confused, puzzled, and murmuring resistance: the real reasons with him were, that he received despatches from Paris, announcing the emperor's intention to take the reserves at Marask, in Turkey, and the Imperial Guard, with other troops then under General Canrobert's orders, and such regiments as he might bring from France, and placing himself at their head, act in the field, whether in the Crimea, or from the Danube, or where else, was not then determined in the imperial councils. These instructions fettered Canrobert's hands, and swayed his judgment. Bazancourt awkwardly endeavoured to apologise for these absurd orders from home, and the consequent indecision of the French chief in the following manner:—"Certainly there was room for great varieties of plan. The storming of Sebastopol would be terrible, and might occasion enormous loss, without any substantial result. The sanguinary struggles produced little impression in Russia,—but it was far otherwise in France and England. The compulsory indecision of the generals-in-chief was attributable to the singular circumstances in which they were placed. Beside their base of operations, a large fortified place, within which the hostile army lies motionless; at Vienna, a congress which is on the point of pronouncing for peace or war; and, finally, at Constantinople, an army of reserve, bound to act at some epoch, which was not positively fixed;—an army, nevertheless, the presence of which is essential to the obtaining of any important results."

At last Canrobert yielded to Lord Raglan in both points; he agreed to an assault, and also to detach, in the meantime, a force with the fleets to operate in the Sea of Azoff, in the hope of cutting off the supplies in that quarter, and prevent their virtualising Sebastopol; for it was evident that as long as they could find guns to mount on their earthworks, men to work them, and food for the men, Sebastopol was not likely to be reduced by such force of artillery as the allies had at command. Canrobert was influenced in yielding the first matter of debate by intelligence from Paris that 40,000 men, the whole force at Marask, and other troops

would speedily arrive and re-inforce his army; but he wanted his ships to bring the troops from the encampment, and therefore wished to postpone the expedition to Kertch. Lord Raglan urged the latter upon him, while the reinforcements were coming, as his information convinced him, that if an expedition to Kertch were not undertaken very soon, the time would pass for any hope of success in that direction. In this his lordship was correct, for the Russians became alive to their danger, and had already laid plans of gigantic dimensions to strengthen their interests there. As to the assault, it was determined to await the arrival of the troops from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and that in the meantime the expedition should sail to Kertch. Amidst these vacillations a new element of complication arose from intelligence that the Russians were concentrating a large force at Eupatoria, and Omar Pasha and his Turks were ordered back thither with all speed, rendering the arrival of the reinforcements from Constantinople and Marseilles the more necessary. The new French army—for such was the magnitude of the reserves that they might be said to constitute a new army—was to arrive early in May: previous to this information the assault was determined between the two generals to take place before the end of April:—

“The works of the allies have engaged them with the enemy to such a degree,” wrote General Canrobert, under date of the 24th of April, “that the assault will be made in four or five days, unless retarded by some of those unforeseen events which are incidental to a state of war. We should have wished to retard this operation until the arrival in the Crimea of the army of reserve; but we are so near to the Russians, that there would be danger in waiting; especially as the hostile army daily receives reinforcements. The general officers of the special arms of the service of both armies, and the chiefs of our two *corps d’armée*, have been unanimous in yielding to the cries of our soldiers (French and English), demanding the assault. Lord Raglan strongly shares in their

opinion. I thought it my duty to give my adhesion also.”

General Pelissier had already reconnoitred all the enemy’s positions, and the site suitable for the assaulting columns to occupy preparatory to the great event. 1st. In front of the great breach in the crenellated wall (already two-thirds filled up with sand-bags and earth); 2nd. Before the Central Bastion; 3rd. In front of the Flagstaff Battery. In the rear a convenient position was to be occupied by immense reserves; on the right, the Mamelon and the White Tower, or rather the works in front of it, were to be assaulted, and when carried the English were to assail the Great Redan; on the left, the French were to march in three columns against the Flagstaff Battery, the Central Bastion, and the Quarantine. After the first line of works were forced, these troops were to turn the second, and “penetrate into the interior by the gorge, and effect a solid lodgment there.”

While the council of generals sat to discuss the final arrangements for the execution of this plan, Admiral Bruat sent to Canrobert a despatch from the French minister of marine, announcing that orders had been given for the army of reserve to proceed to the Crimea. This determined the council to wait: they waited, and nothing was done in the result of the second bombardment. The minister of marine also announced to Admiral Bruat that the emperor had decided to embark for the Crimea, and to take the command of a separate *corps d’armée*, and act externally—the plan to which Lord Raglan was most determinedly opposed, while the strength of Sebastopol was as yet undiminished. But along the coasts of the Sea of Azoff, and at the Straits of Kertch, his lordship, and both the British and French admirals, maintained that great injuries could be inflicted upon the enemy. The soundness of this opinion was afterwards happily confirmed. Thus ended the second bombardment of Sebastopol: the siege still went on with tedious progress, but murderous conflict, and evoking great events which other chapters shall record.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.

“I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set on foot,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.”—SHAKSPEARE.

THE opening of the Vienna conference was regarded with profound interest by all Europe. Many believed that Russia merely entered into the negotiations to gain time, and that Austria—with which power the proposal to hold the conference originated—was in connivance with Russia. It was a more general

belief that the great German power was desirous, without any connivance with the government of the czar, to gain time for herself, and to find some pretext for deferring her fulfilment of her engagements to the Western powers, resulting from the treaty of the 2nd of December, 1854. Whatever her

motives in proposing a conference, all the governments concerned acceded to it, and appointed plenipotentiaries, who assembled in Vienna, and opened the conference on the 15th of March. Count Buol, the Austrian minister, was unanimously placed in the presidential chair. The count opened the conference by a speech, in which he exhorted his fellow plenipotentiaries to a spirit of mutual conciliation and a desire for peace. This speech was remarkable for the declaration that "the Emperor of Austria had made up his mind as to the indispensable conditions of peace, and that nothing should prevent him—not even the most serious consequences—from fulfilling his engagements to his allies." These conditions were the four points, so well understood by politicians all over Europe. The Russian envoy expressed his adherence to the principle of these four points, and was ready to adopt them as a point of departure for the negotiations. The representatives of France and England expressed their instructions to be, not to discuss the principles of the four points—they were to be regarded as beyond discussion; but only the application of those principles, which it was hoped that conference would amicably determine. The order the discussion was to take was thus arranged:—

- I. The Danubian principalities.
- II. The navigation of the Danube.
- III. The limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea.
- IV. The state of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

The discussion of the first of these subjects was at once entered upon, and Russia expressed her concurrence with the demands of the allies. On the second point she not only conceded all that the allies sought, but declared that she had never asserted any right to overrule or interrupt the navigation of the Danube. Baron de Prokesch-Osten, one of the Austrian representatives, adroitly observed that while it was not for him to call in question the good intentions of Russia, the results upon the Danube had been practically at variance with her professions. It was agreed upon that the Danube should be free—that a commission of the great powers should formally open, and also take measures for the permanent protection of the free navigation of that river. Russia was not to establish her quarantine at the Sulina mouth, and no fortifications were to be erected between the channels named Sulina and St. George.

Lord John Russell then declared that his government reserved to itself the right of making such special conditions over and above the four guarantees as the general interests of Europe might call for, and as would be most effectual in preventing the recurrence of complications. The Earl of Westmoreland ex-

pressed concurrence in the views offered by Lord John Russell. The Turkish envoy repeated these declarations. The Russian representatives took exception to the declarations made—that other demands beyond the four points might be made, but frankly admitted that the fortune of war might entitle the allies to make such demands. The Austrian representatives not only supported those of Russia, but rather went beyond them in desiring that the four points should strictly limit the negotiations. The plenipotentiaries present were—

For AUSTRIA Count Buol-Schauenstein, and Baron de Prokesch-Osten.
 „ FRANCE Baron de Bourqueney.
 „ GREAT BRITAIN .. Lord John Russell, and the Earl of Westmoreland.
 „ RUSSIA Prince Gortschakoff, and M. de Titoff.
 „ TURKEY Aarif Effendi.

The first point was "developed" and embodied in the first protocol; but as the Vienna conference did not secure peace, it is unnecessary to encumber our pages with details which were not carried into effect. The second sitting of the conference was held on the 17th of March, when all the plenipotentiaries were present. Both at the opening of the first and second sittings the Russian ministers urged upon the conference the admissibility of representatives from Prussia: this the other powers resisted. The Russian representatives insisted upon introducing Servia to the guarantee of the powers, for the security of its then present immunities. It will interest our readers to know what were the peculiar rights which the Servians claimed, according to the enclosure annexed to protocol No. 2. They were as follows:—

- Freedom of worship.
- Choice of the chiefs of the country.
- The independence of its internal administration.
- The consolidation of districts detached from Servia.
- The consolidation of different imposts into one.
- The giving up to the Servians the management of property belonging to Mussulmen, on condition of paying the revenue, together with the tribute.
- Freedom of commerce.
- Permission to Servian merchants to travel in the Ottoman states with their own passports.
- The establishment of hospitals, schools, and printing presses. And, finally—
- The prohibition to Mussulmans, other than those belonging to the garrison, to establish themselves in Servia.

On the 19th the representatives again assembled. The Turkish plenipotentiary showed a disposition to delay the work, as it regarded the protection of the principalities, on the ground that his master, the sultan, was engaged in devising a satisfactory plan for regulating their

interests. The conference insisted upon proceeding with the task which they had commenced.

On the 21st the fourth sitting was held, when the second point came under consideration. The differences between the motives and objects of the various powers at once became obvious. France and England were agreed; Turkey was reserved, and did not render to the Western powers even so much support as Austria rendered, which latter power betrayed, nevertheless, a jealousy of all the others; the Russian plenipotentiaries made no real concession, and gave indication which did not appear to awaken the suspicion of the other plenipotentiaries, that she was not sincere in taking a part in these negotiations.

The sixth sitting was held on the 23rd of March. The discussion on the second point continued; all the four came to an agreement, but the representatives of Russia raised quibbles and objections at every step, wholly inconsistent with the principle agreed upon.

On the 26th of March the seventh sitting was held, and the third point introduced for discussion. The plenipotentiaries were excessively polite, and abounded in assurances of the convictions each felt in the sincerity and good intentions of the other. This was carried to an extent which betrayed either some secret misgivings of good faith somewhere, or the extraordinary credulity of the representatives of the allies. The representatives of Turkey and Russia sought delay; those of the other powers were for proceeding with the objects of the conference.

The eighth sitting was on the 29th of March. The Turkish representative opened the business by repeating the observations he had already expressed, and desiring delay until he was joined by another representative of the Porte. The tone of the Turkish plenipotentiary was calculated to provoke hesitation on the part of Russia. The representatives of the Western powers stated that instructions from their governments compelled them to hold by the order of discussion which had been agreed upon, and they therefore declined compliance with the wish of the Russian plenipotentiary to discuss the fourth point, until the third was arranged. Austria proposed that, meanwhile, preliminary information should be obtained and discussed in reference to the fourth point. The compliant representatives of France and England were willing so to engage themselves if their governments permitted.

On the 2nd of April the conference met for the ninth time. The ministers of Great Britain and France declined going into the fourth point until the third was adjusted; the ministers of Austria and Russia united in urging the immediate discussion of the fourth topic, until

tidings should arrive from St. Petersburg giving the Russian ministers more precise instructions concerning the third subject in the order of negotiation. The representatives of the Western governments were firm. The Turkish minister did not appear prepared to discuss anything, whatever its place in the sequence of diplomatic arrangement. The conference was adjourned to the 9th of April. At that sitting the ministers of foreign affairs for France and Turkey were present, but no business could be transacted, as the Russian plenipotentiaries had not received any answer to their message to St. Petersburg.

On the 17th of February the sittings were resumed, and the answer from the czar had arrived, declining to take the initiative in proposing any limitation of power in the Black Sea. In answer to questions from the French foreign minister, the Russian ministers declared that they would not consent to any diminution of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and intimated that Russia was not in the condition of a power subjected to disaster, and upon whom, therefore, severe terms could be imposed. The second bombardment of Sebastopol was by this time known to be a failure, and no doubt affected the terms which Russia was willing to accept. The plenipotentiaries of the allies proposed adjournment, to agree upon terms to be proposed to Russia, as the latter, after eighteen days' delay, was not prepared to offer any. To this the czar's ministers offered pertinacious obstruction, and the sitting broke up without coming to any definite conclusion on any subject.

On the 29th the sittings were resumed, and the Turkish minister for foreign affairs proposed a resolution as a starting point for the adjustment of the third point. As corrected that proposal was as follows:—

“Art. I. The high contracting parties wishing that the Sublime Porte should participate in the advantages of the system established by public law between the different states of Europe, engage themselves severally to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, guarantee together the strict observance of this engagement, and will in consequence consider every act or event which should be of a nature to infringe on it, as a question of European interest.

“Art. II. If a misunderstanding should arise between the Porte and one of the contracting parties, these two states, before having recourse to the employment of force, should place the other powers in a position to anticipate this extreme course by pacific means.”

The Russian ministers objected to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman empire, but expressed their willingness to recognise the right. A warm discussion (caused mainly by an at-

tempt of the Russian plenipotentiaries to disengage the Turkish ministers from especial conference with their allies) then ensued, and the sittings were adjourned to the 21st. On that date the Russian plenipotentiaries formally refused to enter into the proposed engagement concerning the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and proposed that the Dardanelles be open to the war ships of all nations.

On the 26th of April the representatives of all the powers again assembled. They were convened at the request of Russia, who, by trifling modifications of her previous proposals, sought the acquiescence of the conference in her views. The Austrian ministers to a certain extent supported those views, as at least offering suggestions for a basis of peace; the Russian ministers urged the propriety of settling the matter with Turkey alone; the Turkish minister replied that, bound by a common treaty, the allies must act in concert.

The allies finally declined further to discuss terms of peace until Russia should consent to limit her power in the Black Sea, and the conference was broken up. Lord John Russell remained at Vienna for some time, and the French foreign minister for some time longer. During this interval Austria was especially busy in devising some plan, ostensibly to prove her desire for peace, but really to break through her own engagements of the 2nd of December. She proposed to the English and French ministers that Russia should be permitted to restore her fleet in the Black Sea to what it was before the war, but not to increase it; and that the Turks, French, and English should keep up an equal fleet there, and that Russia should be compelled to guarantee the integrity of Turkey. Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys consented to this, and induced the Turkish minister of foreign affairs to do the same; but the English and French cabinets repudiated the agreement, and continued firm in their original demands. Austria then declared that, having devised a fair adjustment, and the allies having refused to adopt it, she was not bound to go to war with Russia, and basely backed out of her most explicit engagements; yet Austria persisted in proposing one modification of these views after another. The last call which the Court of Vienna made upon the Western powers for negotiation was evidently in the spirit of sheer humbug. There was, too, an insolence about it in the presumption it implied of the weakness of France and England. Had not the Vienna politicians regarded the statesmanship of both France and England as credulous, they never could have dared to propose such terms of peace. Austria, while professing to negotiate, sought to betray, and did so in a manner to affront the self-respect of the allies. She had given her con-

sent to the four points, which were to be the basis of a treaty of peace, and that the limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea, so as to secure the independence of Turkey, was one of these points, and that which was regarded as the most essential, and which Russia would be least willing to subscribe; yet the Austrian solution of this problem was the *status quo ante bellum*. That Russian power should be "limited" in the Black Sea was the basis of agreement, and the mode in which Austria proposed to effect that was by—first, the powers signing a declaration of independence of the Ottoman empire; and, secondly, by a treaty that Russia was not to increase her navy beyond the strength it possessed prior to the war. Russia—presuming upon the strength of so vast a navy, and such garrisons and places of support as Odessa, Sebastopol, the granaries on the Sea of Azoff, and the forts of the Caucasian shores of the Black Sea—made the insolent demands of Prince Menschikoff, and Austria proposed that she should be restored to exactly the same position, only that her number of ships should be limited to what she then had. After the allies had driven the Russians out of the provinces, opened the Danube, cleared the Black Sea of Russian cruisers, shut up the Russian fleet in Sebastopol, and there sunk or caused to be sunk the greater part of it, Austria proposed that we should withdraw our fleets and armies, and allow Russia to replace the ships destroyed, rebuild and strengthen all her fortifications, and repossess herself of the whole of the Circassian coast, to carry on a system of butchery, of which for so long the interesting inhabitants of those realms had been the victims. The czar was to be at least as strong as ever in the Black Sea, except that the Dardanelles should be open to the fleets of the Western powers. The Austrian proposition, so viewed, was a monstrous attempt to act as the ally of Russia, under the guise of alliance with the Western powers. But this treachery had a worse feature than the above review of it brings out. If Russia had been permitted to rebuild a navy such as she possessed before, there would, under the circumstances, be the recognition of treaty to her possession in the Black Sea of such a force; as it was, Turkey might object to it at any time, and if strong enough to do so alone, or in conjunction with any ally—say America—she might make its existence a *casus belli*; but if the Austrian trick had passed, Turkey would have been tied down by treaty to recognise the right of Russia appearing any day at the entrance of the Bosphorus with her whole naval force in those seas. Against this, and the possible use of a naval power, so great that the very existence of it would be a temptation to employ it, what guarantee did Austria provide? Why a

declaration of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions, and the right of France and England to send their squadrons to that sea! The foolishness of this would excite laughter, if the faithlessness and impudence of it did not enkindle indignation. Why should the allies be at the expense of maintaining navies in that distant sea? Of what use had all the declarations of Ottoman independence been, to which, over and over again, Russia had been a party? Of what avail would these declarations be if the Emperor Alexander II. should say—as his father so lately in effect said—“The man is sick; he will die; we must look to his effects; we must be prepared for the consequences—you may take Egypt and Candia, I the provinces.” Should France and England be at war, or England and America, what was there to prevent Austria uniting with Russia in a partition, on the ground that the “sick man” was then really very bad—so much worse that recovery was impossible; and as he had no legitimate heirs, they, his next neighbours and best friends, had the most proper title to his estates? True, they did stipulate the integrity of the dominions of the sultan; but as Servians, Bosnians, and Greeks had all increased as he decreased, and some division somehow was imminent, they could not be troubled further about the integrity of his lands, and thought it best for the advantage of the occupying tenants to enter upon such as were near themselves! The proposal of Austria was actually an attempt to strengthen Russia for her meditated aggression against Turkey; for, although the number of Russian vessels was restricted to what they had been before the war, Russia might make each vessel far more powerful, and increase the comparative strength of her fleet enormously, in spite of any stipulations as to the number of guns or class of ships—and the allied fleets could not be always on the watch. The moral result of this proposal was to confirm in every fair judging mind the suspicions of Sir G. H. Seymour, our ambassador to the czar at the breaking out of the war. He, in one of his despatches already referred to elsewhere, thus expressed himself concerning an interview which he had with Nicholas:—“It can hardly be otherwise but that the sovereign who insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighbouring state, must have settled in his own mind that the hour, if not of its dissolution—at all events, for its dissolution—must be at hand. Then, as now, I reflected that the assumption would hardly be ventured upon unless some, perhaps, general, but at all events intimate, understanding existed between Russia and Austria. Supposing my suspicion to be well founded, the emperor’s object is to engage her majesty’s government, in conjunc-

tion with his own cabinet and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement.” The suspicions of Sir G. H. Seymour, most reluctantly entertained, were most substantially confirmed. Austria acted in concert with Russia, and appeared as if she only awaited the hour for the open declaration of her alliance. If her covert amity might save Russia from humiliation through the escape of a favourable treaty, she would, in the emergency, have best answered the end of “the intimate understanding.” To this she directed all her arts, while she watched the progress of the war with an invidious vigilance. Yet her position was one which exposed her to the chance of being made use of by the allies, while she sought to abuse their confidence; and if any skill of statemanship had remained to the Western powers, they could, without the employment of any immediate force, have made her also obnoxious to the penalty of her baffled and beaten accomplice.

The unsuccessful termination of the Vienna conferences produced a great sensation in England and France, and murmurs were heard in both countries that their negotiators had laboured without results; and both the English and French plenipotentiaries were compelled by public opinion to retire from their offices in the cabinets of their respective countries. Count Nesselrode addressed an artful note to the ministers and agents of Russia in various states, the object of which was to represent the allies as resisting all conciliatory offers on the part of Russia. The tone and representations of the note were so identical with the arguments of Gortschakoff and Titoff at the conference, as to render its publication here unnecessary. The French plenipotentiary and foreign minister resigned his place in the imperial cabinet; the English plenipotentiary and colonial minister retained office until the cause of the French minister’s retirement became known; and his conduct contrasted very favourably in English opinion to that of the English minister. Earl Clarendon and Lord Palmerston held back from the British parliament and public a correct knowledge of the facts, until it transpired, through Parisian gossip, that the French, English, and Austrian ministers were willing to accept peace on the condition of Russia and the allies keeping an equal naval armament in the Black Sea. The way in which Austria had hoodwinked the Western negotiators, and played into the hands of Russia, became at last evident; and Lord John Russell was forced to leave the English ministry. There were other results of the conference, and these rapidly developed themselves. It was no doubt a conviction on the part of the Russian government that its duplicity through-

out these negotiations, and its falsehood in accepting as a basis the four points, had deprived it of all moral influence in Europe, that led to the crafty and deceptive circular of Count Nesselrode, already referred to, in which he sought to persuade the world that Russia was—as some of the English peace lecturers frequently represented—a most ill-used nation. If no other result than that of unmasking Russia—even to the Peelites and their supporters—were attendant upon those conferences, it was so much gained for the prospect of a more united public opinion in England. But these negotiations tore the mask from Austria; she was evidently not an ally of the Western powers, but an accomplice of the foe; she dreaded Russia, but she was still more afraid of France. She for a long time had designs upon the Porte herself, which in the early part of 1853, were pretty plainly indicated by her support of the Montenegrin insurrection. At that juncture the demands of the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople were as insolent as those of Prince Menschikoff afterwards were, and excited the astonishment of the Russian ambassador, and even his incipient opposition, until Russia, to prepare the way for similar conduct on her own part, sent directions to her minister to support the Austrian demands. Austria was anxious to keep the provinces; to see Russia restricted without herself incurring expense or danger in the task; and to see the allies exhausted in the prosecution of such a policy. She would openly aid Russia and share the spoil, if she were not afraid of revolt in her Italian provinces, sustained by the armies of France, and the ships and gold of England. She had, on the other hand, no objection to see Russia humbled and beaten back from the Danube behind the Pruth, and even out of Bessarabia, if the allies would not ask her to expend anything, or fire a shot, and would guarantee for her the peace of Italy. Prussia only envied Austria for having something to barter on either side, and wished to see Russia—rather than her German rival, or the Western powers—gain influence and strength. She looked for compensation in the possession of the states of northern Germany for any extension of Russian power in the direction of Constantinople, but knew that Austrian influence was in the way of such a scheme, and, at all events, she preferred being a part of the Russian empire to an appanage of France. When we say Prussia preferred all this, we mean her king, her court, her aristocracy, her army, her government;—her people were too tame to resist what in great numbers they disapproved. The governing party in Prussia would have handed over the country to Russian protection, rather than see Poland resuscitated, or Prussia constitutional. The latter issue of

affairs is alike terrible to the government and clergy of Prussia, and will always lead them to sympathise with the power of Russia as the best guarantee for an unrevolutionised Prussia, and against a revived Poland, which Prussia would consider a far more formidable rival than even Austria. The burst of indignation in Paris at the trimming of Count Buol, and the dissatisfaction in the occupied provinces and in Constantinople with the conduct of Hess and Coronini, and the other Austrian satraps in those provinces, alarmed Austria; and these things, taken together, with the disposition of the British and French to employ Poles and Hungarians in their armies, drove Austria into a fever of fear and frenzy, which induced her to feign alliance with the allies, and to attempt to re-open the conferences in order to patch up a peace, or defer her own more positive action. But whatever course Austria might in the future take, she was made known as we could not have known her but for the Vienna conferences, and with whatever sense of disappointment or chagrin, England and France might congratulate themselves upon so much. The effect upon the French emperor and government, and the French empire at large, of the breaking up of the negotiations, was electric. The emperor was known to be determined, however reluctantly, to evoke the nationalities which Austria oppressed, and, putting himself at their head, tear the Austrian empire to pieces, if its emperor should prove faithless. France was of opinion that the way to St. Petersburg was rather through Italy, or over the Rhine, than by the Baltic. The appointment of M. Thurnevel to proceed to Vienna and Constantinople—which took place soon after the breaking up of the conference—could not fail to teach Austria that no disguise would any longer save her with Napoleon. The employment of M. Persigny, and the consignment of the foreign portfolio to Count Walewski, were the most significant hints which Buonaparte could give his quasi ally short of the collection of an army of Italy. Persigny was the Buonapartist of the Buonapartists, and the favourite maxim of his policy was, “the old boundaries of the empire.” Walewski was a Pole as much as a Frenchman, and rumour ascribed to him the ambition of swaying the sceptre of reconstituted Poland. The West, on the whole, learned much from the fall of the card-house of the Vienna diplomatists. It was made clear that Lord Aberdeen was not the only procrastinator; and the mystery was cleared up how our impetuous allies bore with the delays and unsteadfastness of our government. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was a good Catholic, and friendly, therefore, to Austria; he abhorred revolutionists and republicans, and would rather be

beaten by Russia than see Austria crushed with her: he would never march over the ruins of the "chief Catholic German power" to humble the Greek tyranny, however willing to strike directly at the latter; he wished the holy places in Latin hands, and he desired to see splendid Catholic churches spring up in the cities of the sultan, and the Greek schism humbled; and he wished to have "Catholic Austria" as an ally in all this. Hence one cause of the game of diplomatic shuttlecock at which the allies had been playing. Nothing could have been more to the taste of Lord Aberdeen; he was, as he said himself, in a jocular application of the term, "a sort of an Austro-Russian." In his opinion these states were the abettors of order—Russia was an erring sister, and Austria an affectionate sister, reconciling the others: to reclaim the errant, hand-in-hand with the exsultant, was his task. De Lhuys had no Russian sympathy—he hated the Greek schism; his sympathy was Austrian. Lord Aberdeen shared all the sympathies of his French coadjutor for the one, without any of his disrelish for the other. De Lhuys' despatches were admirable, and his conduct statesmanlike and vigorous in all direct doings with Russia; but dilatory when transacting any business with Austria likely to offend her, or where her promises were given. He even drove from about him, and from the employment of the emperor, when he dare, every one who had any doubt of Austria, or any indifference to her interests. However contrary to the generally received notions of the public about these matters, such, in the main, is a true sketch of the policy of the neutrals, and the ministerial revolutions in the government of our ally.

At no period since the peace of 1815 was the discussion of her European relations so intense in England. Although much light had been thrown upon the motives and policy of the various powers, still all was doubt: this was especially the case during the uncertain interval between the return of Lord John Russell from Vienna, and the disclosures which ejected him from the cabinet.

The fortunes of the war flickered, one day all was hope of victory or peace, on the next the country heard that the enemy had repaired his broken earthworks and embrasures, and that a categorical refusal of "terms" was given by his plenipotentiaries to those of our allies and to our own; while the shells scattered the bulwarks of Sebastopol, the heavy balls forced their way through the ramparts erected against them, and a fourth parallel was opened bringing our troops nearer to the enemy, and exposing his defences to a greater range of fire and a heavier force of metal. The scaling-ladders, it was alleged, were dispersed, the ropes and

grapplings attached, and the men picked off for the impending assault. Such were the rumours in England at the close of the conference.

It was, however, certain, amidst so much doubt, that Russia once again proved utterly faithless: she accepted the principle of the four points, and entered into negotiations which would not have been conceded but upon such express acceptance of the principle as left misapprehension impossible. It became clear that she never meant to accede to them: upon the third matter in dispute the whole affair actually turned. Whatever possibility there might have been of patching up a peace upon the other terms, the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea admitted of no equivocation or explaining away; Russia refused to recognise in that point the very principle upon which she went into the conference. She played a part. She hoped to gain something by negotiating, and she calculated rightly upon the faculty of being duped which the allies had all along displayed. Austria had been evidently cooled down by these conferences; but for them she must have joined her arms to those of the allies, or plainly refused to do so, and thereby have thrown off the mask. That she agreed with the allies there was no doubt, for their demands were more in her interests than their own: that she wished the allies to obtain their demands by negotiations or arms was, therefore, sufficiently obvious; but that her aim was to secure the advantages in common with them, without fighting in common with them, every step of her procedure more and more plainly evinced. Even if she should by shame, which no one expected, or by fear, which was possible, be dragged to stand side by side with the Western powers in this war, there could remain no doubt as to the selfishness and cowardice of her policy. That Russia did not regard the future course of Austria with alarm, was proved by the freedom with which Russian troops were removed from the neighbourhood of her frontier, and poured into the theatre of battle. It was said that Austria was anxious to secure the support of the diet, and not to detach herself from the policy of Germany. It had been much overlooked in connexion with that excuse, that if these petty states really believed her in earnest, they would either follow in her wake or avoid all opposition: they would never dare to thwart such a power as Austria, if that power, in the name of German interests, threw herself into a war with such allies as France and England; but, like one of Dickens' characters, who put all the blame of his disagreeable measures upon his unseen partner, so Austria put to the account of Prussia, or the Bund, her own reluctance to expose herself in a cause which she wished to see gained and

paid for by the blood and treasures of others. The excuse was also urged for her that a powerful Russian army confronted hers, and that a chain of even impregnable fortresses, to which she could offer no parallel, were the points of support for this Russian army; that under such circumstances, and no corresponding force of the allies to reach her, she would be in danger of her empire were she to declare war. This excuse, if sound in everything, only proved that Austria was powerless of herself before Russia, and that the hour had arrived for her, with one heroic effort, to deprive her menacing enemy of his opportunity for ever. If she had everything to risk which the above excuse alleges, this would be the only course worthy of so great an empire, with half a million of soldiers at its disposal; but she had not all this to risk: already Russia had withdrawn those troops which threatened her frontier, and poured them into Bessarabia and the Crimea, to replace the hosts swept away by the terrible campaigns on the Danube and before Sebastopol, while already a numerous French army was encamped to march upon the Danube, the Pruth, or wherever else the interests of Austria and of war might call. From the beginning, the German powers had served Russia better than if in alliance with her. Had they been her allies, the Western governments would have revolutionised their provinces, and have paralysed their power: as it was, the position of France and England in the Crimea made it dangerous for them to throw Austria into the arms of Russia. She held our army there as a pledge of her own safety. If she joined Russia the allies must have withdrawn from the Crimea, and the provinces be wrested from Turkey. Should the allies change the theatre of war, all Germany would suffer; but, in the meantime, Turkey would be overrun and ruined.

Taking circumstances as they were, and all hope from negotiations having expired, the popular mind in Western Europe busied itself with anxious discussions as to whether, after all, peace could be conquered. In France especially many proclaimed the invulnerability of Russia, and the failure of the second bombardment aided much in producing that conviction. In England this idea prevailed to a considerable extent, even when the determination to risk all things in the struggle increased in strength. It is strange that so large a portion of well-informed persons in the two most intelligent countries in the world should have deemed Russia unconquerable. All who studied the subject closely must have perceived that if the allies remained patient, and did not attempt any grand *coup* upon the heart of the empire, but occupied territory on her boundaries, estranging the inhabitants of such territories from Russia,—generally an easy

task,—success would be sure. Tartar, Cossack, Bessarabian, Podolian, Fin, and Lithuanian, if armed, protected, and organised, would give Russia more trouble than any other invaders, and contribute as much to her final subjugation. If the allies, like the first Napoleon, assembled 600,000 men, made up of Germans and other unwilling mercenaries, and attempted to march upon St. Petersburg or Moscow, the results would be very similar, as Russia was stronger for defence in 1855 than during the invasion by the great Napoleon. But if the Crimea, Bessarabia, Podolia, and Poland, were all wrested from her—if Russian Armenia and Georgia were torn from her dominions, and wisely held—if the Cis-Caucasian terrain were swept by the mountaineers and Turkish auxiliaries to the northernmost limits of the Caspian—if Finland were freed and joined to Sweden and Norway—and, if in all those lands conquered by Russia, the allies set up free governments, each giving its contingent, and each contingent in its turn acting as the *avant-garde* of the invading armies,—Russia would be subjugated, and her power and greatness perish from the earth. Much twaddle was talked during the first influences of the diplomatic and siege reverses of the Russians as to their “falling back upon their forests and icy plains.” How was support to be derived thence? Salt cannot be manufactured from ice; cannon cannot be forged or cast from forest trees. De Cistine says that the boasted resources of Russia are a great sham, even her forests can seldom supply timber for ships, and dwindle into patches of dwarf trees and stunted shrubs! If the Russian army shrank into hordes of wanderers on ice plains or in forests, the work of the allies would be effectually done. Russia could be conquered just as other great nations were conquered. Her great cities occupied or consumed by the torch of the invader or her own incendiary policy, her commerce cut off, the nations fringing the seas she had dominated made independent—where then would be the Russia of Nicholas I., or Alexander II.? She would have to begin her career of “development” *de novo*, without military resources or the means of procuring them. Without a sea-board, she would in every part of her vast area become subject or tributary to the new nations on the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff, and the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia; while their people, superior in civil and religious information, and in alliance with them powers with which they could maintain, meantime, connexion, would increase in strength, and prevent the possibility of Russia any more emerging upon contiguous territory. So far from its being impossible to subdue Russia by invasion, perhaps no great empire could be more easily subjugated, except Austria.

The dismemberment of Austria is its conquest; if the nationalities that compose it are allowed their own centrifugal tendencies, they will fly off from Vienna, and nothing will remain to it but the contemptible little duchy of which it is the capital, and which might be absorbed into any one of the disintegrated nationalities near enough to take care of it. Russia dismembered, and she too perishes. This is the sure way to war with her. Napoleon I. saw it, but refused to follow his own convictions. He wished a great and unbroken empire to sue at his feet, and its autocrat to be his ally.

The policy of engaging the bordering nations in this warfare ought not to have been overlooked. "You will want us yet," said a respectable Wallach to an English traveller. "You must give us the power to organise an army, and we shall do more to aid you in weakening Russia than you could by an invading army of French or English." Wallach, and Pole, and Finn, *let them loose*, and call them forth as we advance, and in any future war Russia is lost. It would not have suited the policy of the allies, especially in their delicate relationship to Austria and Prussia, to have proclaimed the manumission of the nationalities. The people of such territories as might be invaded, such as Bessarabia or Finland, if liberated in the course of such invasion, should not afterwards be abandoned, but their independence secured, and thus, by erecting the barriers of new nations, the allies would stem the future flow of the wave of barbarous aggression.

During these negotiations at Vienna, and the consequent political agitations in the Western capitals, Prussia remained the ally of Russia through the will of their king, the nobility, the army, and the established clergy; nevertheless, the people hated that alliance, and desired to be once more in amity and co-operation with their old and faithful allies, the English. An able writer gave the following sketch of the feelings of the Prussian people in that respect:—"If anything had been wanting to the general conviction of the nation, after the campaigns of 1815 and the hard-fought battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo, that England was Prussia's sincerest and truest ally, it would have been amply supplied by the recollection of the treatment they had but lately met with from the Russians,—a recollection that is fully alive to the present day: two years after the Emperor Alexander had sworn undying friendship and alliance with King Friedrich Wilhelm III. over the grave of Frederick the Great, he concluded the Treaty of Tilsit with the common

enemy, and consented to enrich his dominions with a portion of the territory taken from Prussia (Baltystock); when the Russians were in occupation of the Baltic coast as friends and allies, they left no stone unturned to secure to themselves that whole district up to the Vistula, and plundered and thoroughly spoiled the towns when at last they felt themselves compelled to evacuate them, and it is a common saying in Prussia, that they would rather see the Russians in the country as foes than as friends. It is notorious to every Prussian, no matter how illiterate, that the poverty and wretchedness which prey upon all the eastern districts of his fatherland are owing to the repeated breaches of customs' treaties by Russia, who persists in interposing to all interchange of produce and manufactures an insurmountable barrier by means of her tariff and her frontier regulations. The friendly relations that have grown up between the two courts of Russia and Prussia, in consequence of the matrimonial union of the then Grand-duke Nicholas with the Princess Charlotte, do not extend beyond the court, nor to the whole extent of the court; the holy alliance, which was another compulsory result of the disturbance of Europe, was long the object of the people's hatred, and its dissolution gave rise to universal expressions of joy throughout the press and the people. Ever since the accession of the present king the nation has been taught openly, by precept and example, to regard its future welfare as bound up in the English alliance. It was to England that the king first paid a visit after his accession, and for an intimate union with her, chiefly on the ground of religious affinity, he has been content and willing to make great sacrifices. All these feelings of personal regard, national tradition, and religious affinity have pointed out to the present royal family that the true policy of Prussia is that of the great elector, Friedrich I., Friedrich Wilhelm I., II., and III., and the whole nation on its part will hail with enthusiasm the *Neue Alliance*, the renewal of the old matrimonial alliances of the two royal families of England and Prussia, which is fixed for consummation, D.V., on the 18th of October, 1857."

However true the representations in the passage above quoted, that the King of Prussia feels friendly to England, he was dissuaded from an English alliance by his sister, the Empress of Russia, and deterred from it by the powerful position Russia occupies in reference to his kingdom by the possession of Poland. Such were the leading facts and discussions connected with the Vienna conference and its immediate consequences.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL IN MAY, 1855.—NOTICES OF GENERAL NIEL AND GENERAL TODTLEBEN.—CAPTURE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKS BEFORE THE CENTRAL BASTION.—FIRST EXPEDITION TO KERTCH.—RECALL OF THE EXPEDITION.—RESIGNATION OF GENERAL CANROBERT, AND APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL PELISSIER TO THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

“Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels.”—SHAKESPEARE. *Richard II.*

MAY-DAY shone upon the beleaguered city, and the beleaguering camps, as brightly as in merry England when it is welcomed by the queen of the May, and the gay throng of happy English villagers. Spring had covered all around with its bloom, and the allied armies felt its cheering influence, and longed for more decisive efforts to subdue the stubborn city. General Niel, the new French chief of the engineers, showed prodigious activity, and more confidence was felt in his genius than in that of his predecessor. He was certainly a military engineer of great experience. A distinguished military French historian gives this sketch of his history:—“The important mission with which General Niel had been charged, the studies he had made of the locality of the attack; his high position in the engineers,—all naturally called him to replace the worthy general whom death had struck down. It was a heavy responsibility; for that period of the siege had arrived, when the engineers were obliged to confess that their hopes had been by no means realised, and that each day the attainment of the object of their efforts appeared to be still more remote. General Niel, now placed at the head of the engineers, was born in 1802. Pupil of the Polytechnic School, he was sub-lieutenant of engineers, at Metz, in 1823. In 1827, he was lieutenant, and already first captain in 1835. In 1836, he embarked for Africa, attached to the engineers’ staff of the expeditionary corps against Constantine. Every one remembers this memorable siege, where General Vallée—after the death of the commander-in-chief, General Damrémont—took the supreme command. A sanguinary and memorable achievement, where are already found in the first rank, among the most ardent to fight, those whose names, later, were to acquire a popularity so splendid, and to be raised, by the brilliancy of their services, to the first ranks of the army. General Niel distinguished himself in that arm of the engineers, which, in all sieges, was ready to brave the greatest part of the danger. He received, for his brilliant conduct at the assault of Constantine, the congratulations of the minister of war; and was, subsequently, named commander of the engineers of the citadel in that town. Major in 1837, he returned to France, and entered, at Metz, in the 3rd regiment of Engineers. A year had scarcely passed, when he became lieutenant-colonel, and colonel

six years later. This was in 1846. In the different functions which he exercised, Colonel Niel had greatly distinguished himself, and he was already classed among the most capable and the most enlightened of the officers of engineers. Therefore, when, in 1849, the expedition to Rome was decided upon, Colonel Niel was named chief of the staff of the engineers, in the expeditionary corps of the Mediterranean. General of brigade two months afterwards, he was called to the command of the engineers of the expedition. He rendered signal services in discharging these important functions; and after the capitulation of the place, the commander-in-chief, in evidence of his high satisfaction, gave him the honourable mission of going to Gaëta to carry the keys of Rome to the Holy Father. After this expedition, as chief of the service of engineers in the ministry of war, he was named member of the committee on fortifications, and afterwards general of division in 1853. General Niel possessed in the highest degree a passion for that arm of the service which he had chosen; and, in the high position which he owed to his services, still continued studies, which, in his own mind, he always regarded as incomplete. When war was declared in the East, and the emperor sent an expeditionary corps into the Baltic, under the orders of General Baraguay d’Hilliers, the choice of the minister called General Niel to command the engineers. The capture of the fortress of Bomarsund added another claim to distinction, to those which the general had already acquired in his active and laborious career. Appointed aide-de-camp to the emperor in 1855, he was sent on a mission to Sebastopol, to contribute, to this difficult and formidable siege, his share of intelligence and mature experience. Such is the military life of the officer who was to assume the chief command of the engineers. If he had laboriously studied in books this difficult and arduous science, he had, above all, often studied it in face of the enemy’s cannon, at Constantine, at Rome, at Bomarsund, and at Sebastopol.”

The officer in charge of the engineer department in the British service was also a renowned officer, Major-general Harry Jones, whose services were noticed in another page of this History. Opposed to these skilful officers was one in no way their inferior—the renowned Todtleben. “Francis Todtleben, whose name

the siege of Sebastopol was to render illustrious, was at the commencement of his military career when the war in the East broke out. It is to this war, and to the genius which he displayed in his indefatigable defence of Sebastopol, that he owes the high rank which he now holds. Son of a merchant of Mittau, Todtleben was born on the 25th May, 1818. After having finished his studies in the schools of Riga, he entered the College of Engineers at St. Petersburg. At the commencement of the present war he was only a second-captain in the engineers. He distinguished himself under the orders of General Schilders, and was afterwards sent to the Crimea. What he has done before Sebastopol belongs henceforth to history, which will blend his name with the remembrance of that gigantic siege. In less than one year, he passed successively through the grades of captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, adjutant-colonel, brigadier-general, and adjutant-general, and received from his sovereign the highest marks of esteem and consideration.*

The garrison had been increased and supplied; the French army was about to receive fresh troops amounting to 40,000 men; efforts were making in England to strengthen the expeditionary army,* and reinforcements were slowly and "bit by bit" arriving. Everything foreshadowed that the failure of the second bom-

bardment would be followed by renewed efforts to conquer the obstinate defence of Sebastopol.

On the 1st of May, the French had a formidable and successful encounter. They attacked and carried a counter-guard before the central bastion, which covered the town, in which the Russians were labouring to place guns, and from which some small mortars had begun to throw shells into the French trenches. It appears that General Pelissier had been very urgent with the commander-in-chief to storm these new works, before they should assume a more formidable magnitude; with that excess of caution and deficiency of enterprise which characterised Canrobert, he resisted these importunities, until, at last, circumstances constrained him to alter his decision, when, with a bad grace, he gave his consent. Canrobert was still puzzled by incessant instructions from the French War-office; plans of complete investment, and exterior operations, rendered him more uncertain and vacillating than his own constitutional tendencies would have made him. At last, General Pelissier, as commander of the first corps, and who was to a great extent responsible if these Russian works increased to such magnitude as to cause much additional difficulty or loss of life, demanded from General Canrobert an authorisation to storm them. On the last day of April, Pelissier was thus addressed by his chief, in answer to his urgent requests for authority to act:—"Under existing circumstances, he would not consent to attack the work, unless it was demonstrated to him that it was of absolute necessity; not wishing to make a useless sacrifice of men, in order to occupy a point, the possession of which—exposed to the cross-fire of the two bastions—would cost still greater loss, if we should endeavour to maintain ourselves there."

Pelissier, knowing that the attack was indispensable, not only continued his importunity, but prepared to carry out the contemplated attack. To these renewed entreaties Canrobert replied: "My dear general, I adhere to the purport of the letter which I had the honour to write to you yesterday, on the subject of the works of counter-approach of the enemy, in front of our battery No. 40. These works must not be assaulted, except the impossibility of *not* doing so is materially or morally demonstrated to you. In such case only you will act; employing all expedients which your long experience may suggest to you. You will think, without doubt, that it will be necessary to employ adequate force, &c."

General Pelissier replied to the commander-in-chief:—"This work has been greatly enlarged, and soon it will be united with, and form a part of, the body of the place, and require a siege like the rest,—a veritable siege,

* The following is a correct report of the divisional, brigade, and regimental arrangement of the British army in the Crimea, on the 5th of November, 1854. The reinforcements which arrived afterwards were noticed in the course of the narrative, and also the changes in command.

FIRST ("HEAVY DIVISION.")—Lieutenant-general the Duke of Cambridge commanding.

Brigadiers.—Major-general Bentinck (Guards); Major-general Sir Colin Campbell (Highlanders).

Grenadier Guards, 3rd battalion; Coldstreams, 1st battalion; Scots Fusiliers, 1st battalion; 42nd Highlanders; 79th Camerons; 93rd Sutherland.

SECOND ("FIGHTING DIVISION.")—Lieutenant-general Sir De Laey Evans commanding.

Brigadiers.—Major-general Pennefather; Brigadier-general Adams.

30th, 55th, 95th, "Derbyshire;" 41st, 47th, 49th.

THIRD DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England commanding.

Brigadiers.—Sir J. Campbell; Brigadier Eyre.

1st, 28th, 38th, 4th, 44th, 50th.

FOURTH DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Sir George Cathcart commanding.

Brigadiers.—Goldie; Torrens.

20th, 21st, Rifle Brigade, 1st battalion; 46th,* 63rd, 57th,* 68th.*

FIFTH LIGHT DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown commanding.

Brigadiers.—Major-general Codrington; Brigadier-general Buller.

7th, 23rd, 33rd, 19th, 77th, 88th, Rifle Brigade, 2nd battalion.

CAVALRY.—Lieutenant-general the Earl of Lucan commanding.

Brigadiers.—Hon. J. Y. Scarlett; Earl of Cardigan.

1st, 2nd Dragoons; 4th, 5th Dragoon Guards; 6th Dragoons; 4th Light Dragoons; 8th, 11th Hussars; 13th Light Dragoons; 17th Lancers.

* At Inkerman, but not at the Alma.

involving sacrifices really greater than the *coup de main* that I have proposed to you, and which our officers consider necessary for the security of our trenches and of our own batteries. If it rested with me to decide, I should not hesitate. The ardour of the Russians in thus pushing forward to create this obstacle, and in working even when under a hot fire of artillery and musketry, shows what importance they attach to this new creation. It forewarns us of the attention that we ought to pay to the matter." The general announced besides, "that the Russians extended themselves towards the Quarantine. It is not to be doubted," said he, in conclusion, "it is an advanced line of defence which they are establishing, with most daring activity. Day and night they are to be seen working unceasingly. If we do not march upon them, the enemy, emboldened, will be able to march upon us."

On the morning of "May-day," Canrobert issued his reluctant order for this enterprise. No time was required for preparation, Pelissier had already arranged everything, foreseeing the imperative necessity of accomplishing the object. The execution was committed to General of division De Salles, under whose command were placed Generals Bazaine, De la Motte Rouge, and Rivet. Lieutenant-colonel Raoult was also to take an important part in the work. These generals reconnoitred the ground during daylight of the 1st of May, so as to make their plans of attack on the spot itself. Canrobert accompanied them.

At five o'clock in the evening, the troops designated for the exploit arrived at the Clock Tower, and were massed near it in different detachments, each detachment accompanied by a proportionate body of workmen. The major of the trenches, and his aides-major distributed to the officers precise instructions as to the parts they were expected to perform. The troops moved slowly away, quietly entered the trenches, and stole furtively along in single file, so as not to attract the enemy's attention. The clearness of the night, which made the danger of detection by the enemy greater, also facilitated the exactness of every movement. The attacking mass was separated into three columns: General Bazaine, with the left of these, was to turn the work; General la Motte Rouge was to assail the position in front; the right column was of less importance, it consisted only of a battalion of foot Chasseurs, supported by two companies of the Fighting 42nd—as they well deserved to be called—and was led by Captain Villermain, supported by Captain Ragon.

At half-past six, a rocket shot up into the air, and instantly the French columns rushed on to the attack. They this time imitated the mode in which their English allies so rapidly stormed pits and trenches opposed to them—for

they ran on, with as much speed as was consistent with order, and, without firing a shot, scaled the parapets and dashed hand to hand upon the foe. On the left, the foreign legion, headed by Colonel Viénot, were the first troops of General Bazaine which reached the trench, and they were received by a fierce fire of musketry. With shouts of "*Vive l'empereur!*" they overflowed the parapets, and were hand to hand with the enemy, as was the case with the troops De la Motte Rouge on the centre, where the 46th, so often victorious, bore down all obstacles. The Russian officers, as usual, performed prodigies of valour, rallying the men in the rear of the work, where a *place d'armes* had been provided. On every point the defenders were forced to give way before the bayonet. Colonel Brégeot arriving with the 98th regiment, rendered vain all hope of a rally on the part of the vanquished. As usual in such cases, the Russian cannon opened to cover the retreat of the troops; grape-shot was showered on the place, but before the cannonade began the workmen had levelled, altered, and reconstructed much of the conquered position; and continued their work undauntedly beneath the storm of case-shot which swept over and among them. The parapets were soon so altered as to cover the position, gabions were placed upon the lines, and the work accomplished. Colonel Guérin of the engineers did honour to his country and himself, by the skill and courage he evinced in the direction of this work. General Lebœuf replied to the Russian artillery, checking its fire and punishing those who directed it. As was generally the case, many of the French soldiers were rash in the hour of victory—they pursued the enemy up to the Central Bastion, which they foolishly attempted to scale, the result was, destruction to most of those whose precipitate bravery carried them so far. Small mines were sprung around the bastion, which tore up the earth in every direction, blowing to pieces the adventurous men, who in their rash valour had found their way there. Soon, however, the enemy recovered himself, and pushing forward his columns, attacked the victors, but was repulsed: a second attempt was equally unfortunate, but that did not deter the Russians from a third, in which the repulse was so signal, and the attempt itself proved so costly in life, that the French were left in possession of their capture. They, however, did not relax their vigilance, but all night kept five companies in front lying on the earth, five deep, with fixed bayonets, ready to start to action at the first sound of the enemy's approach.

Canrobert watched the progress of this fierce encounter from the observatory, but, unable to judge the state of affairs from the flickering and uncertain fire which ebbed from and

flowed up towards the French lines with such inconstancy and fitfulness, he dispatched various officers to bring him some tidings of the fight; while they were on their errand, soldiers arrived from the combat bringing upon a litter the brave Colonel Viénot, slain at the head of his men: they announced to their chief the victory. This procession was speedily followed by two others, bringing upon litters Commandant Julien and Captain Dubosquet—both were dead.

When daylight dawned the scene of recent strife was strewn with dead, especially those of the enemy. Nine portable mortars, unspiked, were captured, many muskets, and a large quantity of artillery *matériel* and tools. Four hundred workmen occupied the morning in making communications between the conquered work and the French approaches. The prize was worth the sacrifice—it brought the French 150 metres nearer to the Central Bastion. The importance of the conquest will be better judged by the private report of General de Salles to General Pelissier:—

GENERAL.—The orders which you gave me yesterday evening have been executed. The important work which the Russians have constructed at a few metres from the battery No. 40, has been vigorously carried at the bayonet's point by our brave soldiers; and the troops maintained themselves there. Under the direction of some officers of engineers, the parapets have been turned, and a communication with our approaches has been constructed during the night. We are able to retain the work by daylight, and I am confident that it belongs to us definitely. This work presented a double line of works; its importance was immense. Its object was to crush, by the fire of its artillery, the battery No. 40 and the works which surround it; to command two gorges which separate this battery from the Flagstaff Battery and from the crest upon which we have established the batteries Nos. 41 and 42. Almost entirely finished, it had already received an armament of nine mortars, and was defended by several battalions, flanked by the cross-fire of the Flagstaff Battery and of the Quarantine, and exposed to the fire of the left face of the Central Bastion, and of the bonnet (*flèche*) which covers it. The work belongs to us; the defenders have been driven out at the bayonet's point; the artillery is in our hands. All the efforts of the enemy in attempting the recapture of this work have failed.

Next day at three o'clock, the enemy made a desperate attempt to reconquer the lost ground. The position was defended by the troops who took it, and who were still weary from the prodigious exertions which they had made. The foreign legion, which had acted so heroically in the assault, now heroically occupied the post of danger in the defence. The number which remained in occupation of the work was small—so was the number of the enemy who sought to recapture it, and never did the Russians behave better. They were composed of a body of picked men, chosen from volunteers; they penetrated the works, and fought there with broken muskets, picks, and stones, in one of the most desperate combats which had taken place during the siege. It was in broad daylight, yet so confused was the conflict,

that the combatants grappled one another in individual and deadly strife, as if in a night attack. The works were kept by the French, and the Russians, who so bravely attempted its recapture—or rather the few left of them—were driven back to their own lines. On the 3rd of May a white flag was hoisted on the Central Bastion, and a Russian officer demanded a truce for burial, which was acceded. In these two combats eleven French officers were killed, and twice as many wounded, some dangerously. Thus May opened for our allies in conflict and in victory. The first act of the British chief was to communicate to the army under his command the approval of her majesty in reference to a gallant transaction. The order of the day is dated April 30th, but was actually issued May 1st.

GENERAL AFTER ORDER.

Head-quarters before Sebastopol, April 30.

THE commander of the forces has the highest satisfaction in publishing to the army the copy of a despatch which he has received from the minister of war, conveying her majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct of the troops engaged in the repulse of the enemy, who attacked the trenches on the night of the 22nd of March:—

War Department, April 9.

MY LORD,—I received on the morning of the 6th instant your lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, in which you report to me the attack which was made by the Russians upon the intrenchments of the allied armies upon the night of the 22nd. I immediately laid this despatch before the Queen, and have received her majesty's commands to express to your lordship her admiration of the gallant conduct of her troops upon this as upon every former occasion. Her majesty desires me to express to your lordship, and through you to the troops under your command, the pride which she feels in the invariable gallantry displayed by them. The Queen deeply deplores that the repulse of the enemy was not effected without the loss of some gallant officers and men, whose devotion to their country's honour neither she nor that country can ever forget. I have the honour to be, &c.,

PANMURE.

Field-marshal the Lord Raglan, G.C.B., &c.

Lord Raglan avails himself of the opportunity to notice in terms of the highest commendation the distinguished gallantry of a detachment of the 77th regiment and other troops of the light division, under Colonel Egerton, in the capture of the rifle-pits, in establishing themselves in them under the judicious direction of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers, on the night of the 19th, and in their resistance to the fruitless attempt of the enemy to dislodge them from the one it was thought desirable to retain. It is a matter of deep regret to him that the army has, on this occasion, to deplore the loss of Colonel Egerton, whose conspicuous conduct and able and zealous devotion in every part of his duty rendered him one of the most valuable officers in her majesty's service.

(By order) J. SIMPSON, *Chief of the Staff.*

The following order of the day of the same date, shows how important were the contributions of science to the efficiency of war:—

Head-quarters before Sebastopol, April 30.

No 1. The use of the submarine electric telegraph is restricted to the following authorities, viz.:—

- The commander of the forces of the British army.
- The commander of the forces of the French army.
- The commander-in-chief of the English fleet.
- The commander-in-chief of the French fleet.

The signature of any one of the above officers will be required to give authority for the transmission of any message by the telegraph. The telegraph arrangement is not yet in so complete a state as to admit of the transmission of any communications except those which are upon public service.

Lord Raglan was not exempt from anxiety concerning the health of the army when summer broke in brightness over the encampments. Crimean fever and cholera gave tokens of renewed activity, and various orders of the day, unnecessary for publication, were put forth, regulating the clothing of the army, and constraining attention to cleanliness. The food with which the troops were supplied was abundant and excellent; the bread was dark, but sweet and good, especially when not allowed to grow too stale. The arrival of M. Soyer some time after was of great service, as contributing to procure for the army better cooked and more nutritious rations. There were fifteen different kinds of food at this juncture distributed to the men, including wholesome fresh meat and varieties of vegetables. The following order of the day was most opportune, and produced effects the most salutary:—

WITH a view to maintaining the efficiency of the transport of this army, it is highly desirable that where the exigencies of the service will admit of the arrangement, one day in the week should be allotted for rest to both men and animals. General officers commanding divisions will accordingly be pleased to cause one-seventh of the transport establishments attached to their respective divisions to remain daily unemployed in their lines.

When Miss Nightingale arrived in the Crimea she was received as an angel of health, and her suggestions were very generally acted upon. The Crimean army fund agency wound up its affairs in the early part of this month, and the agents received high encomiums from Lord Raglan. The following communication to his lordship terminated the duties of the agency:—

Crimean Army Fund Agency, Kadikoi, May 8.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to report to your lordship that the operations of the Crimean army fund, of which we are the honorary representatives in the Crimea, have now closed. In announcing this officially to your lordship, we beg to express a hope that our endeavours to carry out the thoughtful and generous intentions of that association towards our noble and gallant countrymen in the Crimea have in some slight degree promoted the public service, and have not interfered in any respect prejudicially with the organisation of an army which we so love and admire.

We cannot conclude our mission without thanking your lordship, the quartermaster-general, and the authorities, for the kind countenance and support which we have received from the very commencement to the termination of our difficult but most grateful task. Your lordship will allow us to speak most highly of the quartermasters of regiments with whom we have been thrown in such frequent contact.

We have, &c.,

ALGERNON EGERTON.
THOMAS TOWER.

Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., &c.

On the 5th of May, the English commander wrote home referring to the victories obtained

by his ally on the 1st, and reporting casualties which had taken place under the fire of the garrison:—

Before Sebastopol, May 5.

MY LORD,—Since I wrote to your lordship on the 1st instant nothing of importance has arisen; the enemy still appear to be collecting troops upon the high ground on the opposite side of the Tchernaya, in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and convoys are constantly seen moving in that direction. The fire from the place upon our trenches has not been heavy, but, notwithstanding, I have some casualties to report to you, as shown in the accompanying returns; and I have to lament the death of three promising young officers, Lieutenants Carter, of the Royal Engineers, Curtis, of the 46th, and White, of the 62nd regiments. On the night of the 1st instant the French attacked a kind of counter-guard which the Russians had established in front of the Central Bastion. The operation was quite successful, and the enemy were driven out with great loss, leaving behind them nine small mortars. Our allies have remained in the work, notwithstanding the heavy fire to which they have been exposed, and have established themselves therein, frustrating the efforts made by their adversaries to dispossess them of it on the following day, when a vigorous sortie was repulsed, and the Russians were again great sufferers. The conduct of the French troops was very brilliant.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Punnuare, &c.

RAGLAN.

Concerning the same event, Canrobert more happily expressed himself when he wrote, May 4th:—"This double combat characterises, in a most happy manner, the qualities of impulse and ardour which are proper to our troops. Never did they give proof—upon a theatre restricted it is true, but where the drama of war was manifested in its most thrilling forms—of more valour and impetuosity."

On the 2nd of May, the Kertch expedition set sail, after much difference of opinion between the allied commanders, which laid the foundation for the ultimate resignation of General Canrobert. Lord Raglan renewed his former expostulations and remonstrances, and, with a persistency as successful as that of General Pelissier in reference to the attack on the works before the Central Bastion, Canrobert still urged that the French army of reserve, then encamped in Turkey, would speedily arrive, and then it would be time enough to attempt exterior enterprises. "Let us profit," said the chief of the English army, "by the time which remains to us before the arrival of the army of reserve, to explore Kertch, and the Strait of Yenikale; separate Asia from Europe, and take from the Russians the means of revictualling which they draw from the Sea of Azoff. It is the more urgent to use despatch," he added, "because the Russians are working to obstruct the passage, and each day of delay doubles the difficulties, and takes from this enterprise favourable chances of success."

It was on the 30th of April the steamers put to sea, but purposely went in a wrong direction to puzzle the enemy, and sailed as if bound for Odessa; but that night beat backwards, other vessels gradually joined, and the whole force

destined for the enterprise, were at last embarked, and dispatched to their destination. The flotilla was to rendezvous lat. 44° 54' long. 36° 28', which they accomplished in safety, but, before anything could be effected, they were ordered back by express sent from Canrobert, which Admiral Bruat, by the laws of the French service, was bound to obey, and Admiral Lyons then ceased to be in a condition to proceed alone; he soon after received a message from Lord Raglan to bring back the troops. The force which embarked was 8000 French, under the command of General d'Antemarre, successor to Forey (to whom the French emperor assigned the presidency of Oran, in Africa); 4000 British, under Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown; and a Turkish brigade of about 3000 men. The extraordinary course adopted by Canrobert, established such an opinion of his weakness in the fleets and armies, that both were filled with murmurs, and squibs and caricatures were circulated from battalion to battalion in both armies. He, who in his private correspondence, since published, was always writing home complaining of the delays of the English general, even when the latter was arming the French batteries with his mortars, and carrying up their shot and shell by his railroad, was the dead weight of the campaign, so far as any enterprise of real responsibility was concerned. Nothing could have been better planned than the Kertch expedition. It was necessary, it was wise, and the recall of it by Canrobert was a sheer act of spiritless irresolution and military incapacity. None braver in the field than the brave Canrobert, none truer to his country; but he had not the resolution to assume large responsibilities, nor the capacity to embrace comprehensive plans and purposes. Gallant and disinterested, he was well suited to a less enlarged command. No man could be more free from mean jealousies, by which he was never actuated in his complaints of Lord Raglan; but he was restless and impatient until a project undertaken was accomplished; yet, so timid of responsibility, that he could be easily induced to countermand it. The cause of the sudden change of purpose with the French general, in this instance, was a telegraphic despatch from the French emperor:—

"On the receipt of this despatch, assemble all your means in order to prepare yourself to attack the enemy externally;—concentrate immediately all your forces; even those at Maslak."

General Canrobert immediately proceeded to Lord Raglan. "He had been able," he said to him, "in consequence of a certain latitude allowed him as to time, to profit by it," as the English general had himself said, "to send troops to Kertch; but in face of a positive order, emanating from the emperor, which

commanded him to assemble without delay all his means of attack, and to concentrate his forces, he could not allow any part of his troops and transports to be removed to any considerable distance."

It was in vain that Lord Raglan argued the urgent importance of that time for accomplishing the objects of the expedition, and the consequences that would ensue, if, after proceeding so far, it should be recalled. The other officers, French and British, pointed out how fully the nature of the case justified the responsibility he would assume by allowing the troops to proceed. He would listen to no expostulation, incur no responsibility, but literally obey a despatch sent in obvious ignorance of the real situation of affairs. Too much was done in Paris, too little in the Crimea. The French War-office pertinaciously meddled with everything; the French commander-in-chief was wafted hither and thither by its whims. A mutual understanding between the two generals could no longer exist. Lord Raglan was not willing to place himself under the command of the Emperor Napoleon, or Marshal Vaillant; and he must either be governed by telegraphic despatches from the French war-minister, or remain inactive, except so far as the prosecution of the siege-works of his own lines before Sebastopol. Such a state of things could not last. Canrobert immediately dispatched the French fleet to the Bosphorus to bring up the army of reserve, which was encamped under the command of General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély. In the meantime an envoy arrived from the emperor, Commandant Favé, who presented to General Canrobert a plan of campaign, which the emperor wished to have put into execution. He had himself abandoned the idea of carrying it out in person, in consequence, it was alleged, of the mode in which the Vienna conference terminated, although it was difficult to see how that could effect his personal superintendence of the campaign. It is certain, however, that on political grounds the emperor was well advised to abandon the project of a command in the field, and he accordingly committed the following scheme to his lieutenant:—

The Emperor, to General Canrobert, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the East.

April 28, 1855.

"The fire which has been opened against Sebastopol will, by this time, have either succeeded or failed. In either case, it is absolutely necessary to quit the defensive position in which the army has remained during the last six months. For this purpose, in accord with the English government, I would have the troops divided into three armies—one siege army and two of operations. The first

is destined to protect Kamiesch and to blockade the garrison of Sebastopol; the second to operate at a short distance from Balaklava, and, in case of need, to take possession of the heights of Mackenzie; and the third is intended to effect a diversion.*

"If, as I have reason to think, the Russians have 35,000 men in Sebastopol, 15,000 to the north of Eupatoria, and 70,000 between Simpheropol, the Belbek, and the Tchernaya, it will suffice to have 60,000 good troops to destroy the whole Russian army, which might be taken in the rear before it could unite all its forces; and even should it be able to unite them, the numbers would be almost equal; for that great principle of war must not be forgotten, that, if a diversion is made at a certain distance from the base of operations, it is necessary that the troops employed in such a diversion should be in sufficient number to be able of themselves to resist the army of the enemy, which might unite all its efforts against them.

"All this being well considered, I would have sent into the valley of the Baidar the 40,000 men taken from the army of Sebastopol; and, supported by Lord Raglan, I would have occupied, from Skelia as far as the bridge of Teulé and Tchorgoum, the four roads which crossed the Tchernaya. We should thus have had so many *têtes-de-pont*, threatening the left of the Russians, established on the heights of Mackenzie.

"After this movement I would have left Lord Raglan master of all the positions on the left of the Tchernaya from Skelia as far as Tchorgoum; I would have assembled in the rear of the lines occupied by the English the 40,000 men of the active army, with the cavalry, and the means of transport at my disposal, waiting in that position, with look-outs on the cliffs by the sea-shore, for the arrival of my *corps d'armée*, which, coming from Constantinople, would have received orders to reconnoitre Cape Pharos.†

"What would be our position in regard to the Russians? The movement on Baidar, by

* "1st. The siege army, composed of 30,000 French and 30,000 Turks..... 60,000
Without counting 10,000 men who cannot be disposed of.

2nd. The first army of operation, under Lord Raglan, of 25,000 English, 15,000 Piedmontese, 5000 French, and 10,000 Turks 55,000

3rd. The second army of operation, of 40,000 French of the army of Sebastopol, and 25,000 of the army of reserve at Constantinople 65,000."

† "The active army would be thus organised:—
General Canrobert, General-in-chief.

1st *Corps d'armée*.—General Bosquet, with four divisions of infantry and one of light cavalry.

2nd *Corps d'armée*.—General Regnaud de St. Jean D'Angély, with two divisions of infantry, one division of the guard, and one division of heavy cavalry. General Pelissier would have continued to command the besieging army."

giving up the passages over the Tchernaya, would have threatened their left, and led them to suppose that it was our intention to dislodge them from the heights of Inkerman and Mackenzie. The Russians would have been thus kept in check, and their attention drawn on Inkerman and Perekop. Our positions would have been excellent, and my plans being unknown, if anything had deranged them, nothing would have been compromised. But, supposing that nothing had opposed the general plan, it would have been carried out in the following manner:—As soon as the fleet, bringing the 25,000 men of the reserve, had been seen approaching, orders would have been given for them to proceed to Alouchta, to that part of the beach which, secretly examined, should have been found favourable for a landing. A first body of 3000 men would, immediately on their landing, establish themselves three leagues from Alouchta, beyond the defile of Ayen. No others would be landed until information had been received of the occupation of that defile. The reports being favourable, the advanced guard would take up a good position beyond the defile, intrench themselves, and await the army. The remainder of the 25,000 men would then land, and the 40,000 assembled at Baidar would receive orders to march along the road which skirts the sea-coast by Yalta. In three days, that is to say two days after the landing of the army at Alouchta, the 40,000 men from Baidar would have joined under the walls of Simpheropol the 25,000 just landed; possession would have been taken of the town, and a sufficient garrison left in it; or a good position would have been taken up on the road we had just passed, to secure the rear of the army.

"Now, of two things one: either the Russian army before Sebastopol would have abandoned that formidable position to meet the army which would advance from the side of Bagtché Serai, and then the first army of operation, under the orders of Lord Raglan, would push forward and take possession of the position of Inkerman; or the Russians would await in their lines the arrival of the army advancing from Simpheropol, and then the latter, advancing from Bagtché Serai on Sebastopol, always supporting its left on the mountains, would form a junction with the army of Marshal Raglan (who would have advanced from Baidar upon Albat), repulse the Russian army, and drive it back into Sebastopol or into the sea.

"This plan appears to me to possess great advantages. In the first place, the army, as far as Simpheropol, which is only nine leagues from Alouchta, would be in communication with the sea; the country is very healthy, and better supplied with water than any other part of the Crimea; its rear would be always

secure; it would occupy ground where our inferiority in cavalry would be less sensibly felt; and lastly, it would come suddenly on the Russian line of operations, and cut off all their supplies, by probably taking possession of their parks of reserve. If the defile of Ayen—an indispensable element in the success of the plan—should be so fortified as not to be capable of being taken, the 3000 men who advanced for that purpose would be at once re-embarked; the army of reserve would then be landed at Balaklava, and the diversion which it was intended to make on Simpheropol would be made by Baidar, but with fewer advantages.

“As to the march of the 40,000 men from Baidar to Alouchta, it would be without danger, as the ground is protected by almost inaccessible mountains, and is at a great distance from the Russian army. Our army might, during almost all the distance along the sea-shore, be followed by steamers to receive the sick.* If, on the contrary, it should be wished to make a diversion by Eupatoria, my opinion is that nothing could be more dangerous or more opposed to the rules of art and the counsels of prudence. In order to operate from Eupatoria on Simpheropol, the army so engaged would be in an open and unhealthy country, and almost without water; it would be on ground where the Russian cavalry, which is very numerous, would have every chance of success; and it would have to make a march of sixteen leagues in face of an enemy which might come from the north as well as from the south, fall upon our columns, and cut off all retreat. The wings of the army would have no support from the nature of the ground. In order to go from Eupatoria to Simpheropol, it must carry with it all its provisions and all its ammunition; for when once the army had left Eupatoria, the 15,000 Russians in that neighbourhood (most of whom are cavalry) would harass its rear, and prevent the arrival of any convoys. If it should meet with any resistance at Simpheropol, and the Russian army should, by a change of front, have taken position on the road over which the army had passed, that army would be either annihilated or famished. There is, besides, another absolute principle; and that is, that a flank march is not possible unless at

a distance from the enemy, and when sheltered by the nature of the ground.

“The army which would operate from Eupatoria to Simpheropol would consequently have no line of operations, nor any defence assured for its flanks, nor any means of retreat, nor favourable field of battle, nor means of procuring food. Lastly, this army of operation, instead of being compact—composed of soldiers of the same nation, commanded by a single chief—would be formed in great part of Turks; and as some allied divisions would be added to it, there would be neither unity, nor security, nor absolute confidence.

“If, instead of marching on Simpheropol, the army leaving Eupatoria should desire to proceed direct to Sebastopol, it must recommence, under disadvantageous conditions, the campaign which we made in disembarking in the Crimea; it must carry the formidable positions of the Alma, of the Katcha, and of the Belbek. This enterprise is impossible, for it would be disastrous. Hence follows the absolute necessity of leaving at Eupatoria only the number of Turks strictly indispensable to defend the place.

“Such is the plan which I wished to execute at the head of the brave troops which you have hitherto commanded; and it is with the most profound and acute sorrow that I find that graver interests force me to remain in Europe.

“NAPOLEON.”

There is one portion of the foregoing programme of military operations which was erroneous as to matter of fact. The objection to operations from Eupatoria because of deficiency of water is invalid. After Southern Sebastopol fell, Pelissier acted upon this unsound information, and Codrington, then in command of the British army, fell in with his views. The course which an army acting from Eupatoria must have taken was well watered. Mr. Upton, the distinguished engineer, son of Colonel Upton, who built the docks of Sebastopol, and who knows the topography of that region well, declared repeatedly to the author of this History, that the route of an army acting from Eupatoria in the direction indicated, would be favourable from the very circumstance that water existed abundantly. In other respects the opinions of the emperor did not rest upon sufficient data, but this is not the proper place to discuss them. When Canrobert perused the extraordinary document just quoted, he perceived that it was impossible for him any longer to hold the command of the army. He knew that Raglan and Omar Pasha would never consent to any such scheme, as both generals concurred in the opinion that if operations “on the exterior” were resolved upon, Eupatoria was a good base. Lord Raglan, however,

* “On the other hand, the minister of war would have had collected at Constantinople operations of meat, gunpowder, and other objects occupying little space, in order that the soldiers, by leaving all their other baggage, might each carry eight days’ provisions, with a shirt and a great-coat. The *corps d’armée* of reserve would have had on board the steamers eight days’ rations for 60,000 men. The waggons which would follow the army from Baidar would carry the same quantity, so that the 60,000 men in commencing the movement would have sixteen days’ provisions assured to them. When once they had reached Simpheropol the waggons might revictual the army from Alouchta.”

was for giving undivided and vigorous attention to the siege. There can be no doubt that as the English marshal gained experience in the command of a large body of men, his talents were seen to more advantage, and that he then generally displayed more soundness of judgment and military comprehensiveness than Canrobert. With such men as Sir Richard England, Sir John Burgoyne, Sir Harry Jones, and Sir Colin Campbell in his counsels, he was likely to improve, as he more frequently consulted his superior officers, and relaxed the reserve which was so injurious to him in the earlier stages of the campaign. Both the English and Turkish generals resisted this scheme of the emperor *in toto*. Omar Pasha came from Eupatoria to the Crimea, and conferred with the English general, and their concurrent opinion became strengthened in opposition to a plan, which, at all events to them, appeared wild and impracticable. The French general was obstinately determined to carry out his master's views as to Eupatoria, and the other allied generals were obliged to abandon all idea of action in that quarter. Thus a large force was kept idle where active operations might have been prosecuted with vigour and success. Lord Raglan considered that the route from Aloueha to Simpheropol was exposed; he preferred that from Baidar to Bagtché Serai, but did not approve of either; and the experience of General Pelissier, after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, justified the judgment of the English chief. In fine, Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha were opposed to the whole plan of the French emperor in principle and detail. Canrobert expressed his own concurrence with the emperor's views, and avowed his despair of ever carrying Sebastopol by assault, or subduing its earth-works. Raglan, Sir Richard England, General Jones, Sir George Brown, Pelissier, and Bosquet, were all hopeful that, by perseverance and courage, the place would be ultimately subdued, and the army set free for operations in the field, more hopeful of success than those sketched by the French emperor. Canrobert accordingly, following the patriotic and self-sacrificing impulses of his character, offered the supreme command to Lord Raglan, and advised Omar Pasha to follow his example: he declared that the war could not be carried on by a command divided among three co-ordinate chiefs. Lord Raglan, according to Bazancourt, was at first astonished, and refused so great a responsibility—then hesitated, and finally acceded; but, upon the first act of supremacy, Canrobert refused obedience to the chief he selected. According to Bazancourt, his lordship demanded that the English trenches should be occupied by the French army, and Canrobert refused compliance. Had his lordship made this demand it would not have been so

unreasonable, as it would have created unity in the action of the siege, and set the English army free for any exterior action which might prove feasible; but we doubt the assertion of Bazancourt, who is often insidiously detractive of the English generals.

It is certain that the resolution of Canrobert to carry out the projects of his emperor led to serious conferences, and one of them lasted seven hours. General Canrobert was, in the meantime, lampooned and caricatured by every wag in all the services, military and maritime, especially in the fleet and army of his own nation: yet he was both loved and respected. His vacillation and want of decided plans of action in conducting the siege were the causes of these acts of disrespect. It was not understood that his own government was in a great measure the cause of this. Under these circumstances, General Canrobert resolved to sacrifice his own position to the general good, and, on the 16th of May, telegraphed to the French War-office his resignation of command.

“My enfeebled health no longer permitting me to retain the command-in-chief, my duty to my sovereign and my country compels me to ask you to transfer that command to General Pelissier—an officer of great skill and experience. The army which I leave to him is intact, warlike, ardent, and confident. I beg the emperor to leave me the place of a combatant in its ranks, at the head of a simple division.”

In attributing his resignation to ill health the general was actuated by a desire to conceal the real causes of his procedure from public view. On the 19th of May he thus expressed himself in a letter to the emperor:—

“The little relative effect produced by the numerous and excellent batteries of the allies against Sebastopol, since the reopening of the fire; the non-attack of our external lines by the enemy—an attack which had appeared very probable, and on which I had founded hopes of a success more decisive than that of Inkerman; the arduous difficulties which I have experienced in preparing the execution of the plan of campaign of your majesty, now becomes *almost impossible* by the non-co-operation of the chief of the English army; the very false position towards the English in which I have been placed, by the sudden recall of the Kertch expedition, to which I have since discovered they attached a great importance; the extraordinary moral and physical fatigues, to which for nine months I have not for an instant ceased to be subjected;—all these reasons, sire, have produced in my mind the conviction that I ought no

longer to direct in chief that immense army, the esteem, affection, and confidence of which I have been enabled to obtain. Thenceforward, my duty towards your majesty and towards the country was to retire, and ask to be replaced by the general for whom, in his intelligent foresight, the emperor had confided to me a letter of appointment as commander-in-chief;* and who united the conditions of capacity, moral authority, and the habit of conducting great undertakings, with the energy necessary to bring to a fortunate and permanent result the vast enterprise which the death of my predecessor and the will of the emperor had committed to me. The soldiers and the officers are all well acquainted with the warlike qualities of General Pelissier; they will give him all their confidence, and the co-operation of us all is secured to him; and I know that the new general-in-chief has the strongest confidence of success. Your majesty will allow me to observe, that my name is too well known to the troops, whose confiding affection has never ceased to do me honour, for me under existing circumstances not to remain in the midst of them, in order, in their fatigues and dangers, to set them an example of devotedness to the service and glory of the emperor and of France. I therefore request your majesty to allow me to command a simple division in this fine and heroic army, the conduct of which has conferred and will continue to confer so much honour on France."

To the minister of war he wrote thus:—

"The army which I leave to my successor has come out of the rude and perilous trials it has had to undergo, fuller of ardour and confidence than ever. It is a glory for France, and has never ceased to be to me a source of consolation, from the devotedness which it has shown towards me up to this day; and it is ready to accomplish the greatest undertakings which may be required, in the service and for the glory of the emperor."

After these communications were made, he demanded the presence of General Pelissier in his tent, when, according to Bazancourt, the following scene took place:—

"General," said he to him, "I was for a long time under your orders in Africa; now it is you who are under mine. In the high position which has been entrusted to me, it has been my duty to observe you closely; and I have recognised in the man who knows how to obey without murmuring, the rare quality

* "The emperor, to guard against the chance that any misfortune might deprive the army of its commander-in-chief, had dispatched to General Canrobert a letter of appointment for General Bosquet. After the arrival of General Pelissier, this secret letter of appointment (in case of accident, or of sudden death) bore the name of that general."

of the authority of command;—that authority you must now prepare to exercise upon a large scale."

General Pelissier regarded him with astonishment.

"Listen to me with attention," continued General Canrobert. "The differences of opinion which, for some time past, have arisen between Lord Raglan and myself, have rendered my position a false one towards the head of the English army, and my relations, consequently, very embarrassing. In my opinion, under existing circumstances, and in consequence of unforeseen occurrences, my continuance in my present capacity adds farther complications to a situation already sufficiently critical. From this moment, therefore, it becomes my duty to the emperor and to my country to retire. I have, accordingly, requested his majesty to confer upon you the command-in-chief, and permit me to place myself at the head of a division."

"General," said General Pelissier, with emotion, interrupting him, "do not persist in this, I entreat you; hereafter you will bitterly regret it."

"To have performed a duty can never be a cause of regret," General Canrobert simply replied.

General Pelissier's feelings betrayed themselves in his voice. Tears rose to his eyes, and as General Canrobert seemed surprised to see so much emotion displayed upon that manly and warrior-like countenance, he said—

"Yes! It is so; I do not conceal it. I am deeply moved—not so much by the responsibility about to be laid upon me, as by such a complete abnegation of self. Wait yet awhile, general."

"The despatch has gone," replied General Canrobert; and he handed to his successor a copy of it. General Pelissier read it, and then, in silence, shook the two hands of General Canrobert, and the generals separated.

This was a touching scene, and merits to be preserved by history among its souvenirs.

In reply to Canrobert, a telegraphic despatch from the emperor was promptly sent. It was as follows:—

Paris, May 16, 11 p.m.

THE emperor accepts your resignation. His majesty regrets that your health has suffered; he congratulates you on the feeling which makes you request to remain with the army; you will there take the command, not of a division, but of the corps of General Pelissier. Transfer the command-in-chief to that general.

This was communicated to Pelissier. The staff of the French army was convened, and in their presence Canrobert proclaimed the change which had taken place. The occasion was one of deep emotion to the heads of the French army.

On the 19th, Canrobert bid farewell to the army as commander-in-chief, and Pelissier, in an order of the same date, paid a noble tribute to the merits and self-denial of the retiring chief.

Pelissier, on assuming the command, paid his respects to Lord Raglan, whom he treated with great deference, and for whom he felt much esteem. Scarcely was he installed in his new position when instructions from the emperor arrived, directing him to abide by the programme which his majesty had marked out for General Canrobert, as far as he possibly could, but at the same time appending this very important addition—"If it is necessary to modify them, let it be done with the concurrence of Lord Raglan. Act in concert." Pelissier did act in concert with Lord Raglan. In the first place, it was resolved to resume the expedition to Kertch: the English and French admirals united with Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha in demanding it; Pelissier entirely approved of it, and gave his hearty co-operation. In the second place, the plan of carrying on the siege urged by Lord Raglan and by the British engineers, Sir J. Burgoyne, before he left the Crimea, and General Jones, since he assumed the office of chief of the engineer staff, Pelissier also heartily approved. The English had suffered greatly, and were much impeded in their approaches by Canrobert's inaction in reference to the Mamelon, and the other counter-approaches of the enemy, or against the French works. Canrobert would neither storm the Mamelon nor consent to Lord Raglan's doing it, while the latter and his engineers declared that necessary to further progress. The English generals were for boldly assaulting all the outworks of the enemy upon a regular and well-organised plan of operating in detail. Canrobert hesitated, allowed time to pass, and was unwilling to hazard anything upon the desperate measures of assault. The French army generally concurred with the English in their bolder policy, and Pelissier thoroughly appreciated the feeling, and apprehended the peculiarity of the situation.

On the 18th, the day before Pelissier assumed the command, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély arrived with his new *corps d'armée*, of which he was permitted to retain the command.

It is important, at this juncture, in the state of affairs, to give some notice of the previous military career of General Pelissier. There was not, perhaps, in the whole French army a more experienced or competent officer. Although, perhaps, both Cavaignac (then in exile) and Bosquet were more fit for the command-in-chief of an army for very varied operations, Pelissier was by far the most suitable to conduct so stupendous a siege. His antecedents

were full of exploit. A French officer thus recounts them, and sketches his life:—"He was born in 1794. He entered the school of St. Cyr in 1814, and was attached in 1815 to the household artillery of the king, with the rank of sub-lieutenant. Being placed in non-activity at the disbanding of the troops on the 26th of August, he entered, at the end of the same year, the departmental legion of the Lower Seine. On the 20th of January, 1819, he was admitted, after an examination, to the corps of the staff. In 1823, he made the campaign of Spain, with the grade of lieutenant, and was named chevalier of the Legion of Honour. After his return from Spain, he was successively aide-de-camp to several generals. In 1827 he was a captain, and made in the years 1828 and 1829 the campaign of Greece, as aide-de-camp to General Durrieu. He brilliantly distinguished himself at the siege of the castle of Morea, and was named Knight of St. Louis. In 1830, when the Algerian expedition was resolved upon, he belonged to it, and, as in the two preceding campaigns, drew upon himself the attention of his superiors, who pointed him out to the minister of war as an officer full of promise. In the same year he was named major and officer of the Legion of Honour. Those two rewards which followed each other, at two months' interval, sufficiently show the services which he had rendered, and how much they relied upon those which he was to render subsequently. In 1832 he directed, at the war depot, for several months, the military section of Algiers. After having been successively attached, in the course of several years, to general inspectors, Commandant Pelissier was appointed lieutenant-colonel on the 20th of November, 1839, and he immediately started for Algiers, as chief of the staff of the 3rd division. From that moment he never quitted Africa. In 1842, he was named a colonel and deputy-chief of the staff of the Algerian army. Everywhere he gave proofs of high intelligence and daring courage. In 1846 he was raised to the grade of brigadier-general, and commanded in 1848 the division of Oran. In all the expeditions in which he took part, General Pelissier distinguished himself by the energy of his resolutions and of his enterprises. His name was several times mentioned in the orders of the day of the army, and twice he was wounded before the enemy whilst fighting with intrepidity. Frequently stern to excess, in command, he hides under this rough exterior a heart warm and devoted to those he loves. In the later years of his stay in Algeria,—having been appointed general of division since the year 1850,—he added to the qualities of a valiant soldier, those of enlightened organiser and administrator, during the command of the division of Mostaganem, of the division of Oran,

and lastly, in the general government, *ad interim*, of Algiers. The capture of Laghouat was a bold and brilliant feat of arms, which crowned the previous military services of the general."

General Canrobert refused to take the place of General Pelissier in the command of the 1st *corps d'armée*, and which was therefore confided to General de Salles. This was not only self-denying, but judicious, on the part of General Canrobert; for had he assumed the command vacated by Pelissier, it would have devolved upon him to execute the very things he shrunk from undertaking as commander-in-chief. General de Salles was an officer of experience; he had seen service first in the expedition to the Morea, next in Africa, then in the siege of Antwerp, and again in Africa. His direction of the well-executed attack of the 2nd of May gained for him great reputation in the

Crimean army. Still, it was doubted whether his experience was sufficient for so large a command.

The events narrated in this chapter were too important not to be placed in detail before the reader. Their consequences were momentous, and therefore we have followed the track of all those circumstances which constituted the painful complications of the period, but which at last gave place to a new order of things. Canrobert retired with dignity, and the sympathy and respect of the allied armies and nations went with him in his comparative obscurity. He did not partake of what so many have experienced, and which Shakspeare has so well described—

"The painful warrior famoused for fight,
After a thousand victories, once foiled,
Is from the book of honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toiled."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

BEFORE SEBASTOPOL IN MAY, CONTINUED.—ARRIVAL OF THE SARDINIANS.—USEFUL LABOURS OF M. SOYER.—ILLNESS OF MISS NIGHTINGALE.—FRUSTRATED ATTEMPTS OF THE RUSSIANS ON THE BRITISH ADVANCED TRENCHES, AND BRAVERY OF THE 68th REGIMENT.—EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT.—SICKNESS OF THE TROOPS.—DREADFUL CONFLICTS ON THE LEFT OF THE FRENCH.—CAPTURE OF RUSSIAN AMBUSCADES.—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES UPON THE TCHERNAYA.

"It is no time to discourse: the day is hot, and the weather,
and the wars, and the king, and the dukes."—SHAKSPEARE.

In the last chapter, the events of the siege which occurred between the recall of the expedition to Kertch and the instalment of General Pelissier in the command of the French army were omitted, in order to allow of the consecutive relation of the incidents of such deep interest, which so rapidly succeeded in bringing about the retirement of General Canrobert, and the substitution of a more vigorous director of French military affairs. While the emperor was endeavouring to govern the movements of the allied armies, and the chiefs were disputing, the Russians were working. It was truly no time to discourse: the weather was hot, disease was reappearing in the camps, the emperor was interfering, and the leaders were quarrelling; but the foe was turning up the earth with mattock and spade, placing gabions, and making desperate attempts against the allied troops.

On the 8th of May, the Sardinian army, under the brave and skilful General Marmora, arrived at Balaklava, and sent up their advanced guard on the 9th. They had scarcely taken a part in the duties they had undertaken, when cholera and Crimean fever made their appearance among them, and some officers and soldiers fell victims. M. Soyer was exerting

himself to improve the dietary of the army. The indefatigable and devoted Miss Nightingale was ministering mercy throughout the camp; and the British soldiers and sailors were working indefatigably, still borne down by overwork.

On the night of the 9th, the enemy made two serious assaults upon the most advanced parallel of the British right attack. These conflicts bore a close resemblance to many which preceded them: the enemy came on furtively, but this time the British were more on the alert, and the chastisement inflicted upon the enemy was more severe. The French manifested an earnest desire to aid the British, and drew off the fire of the enemy considerably.

On the night of the 10th, an alarm ran along the whole of the British lines. The Russians sought to effect a surprise on the advanced British parallels, which was detected and punished severely. For about half an hour, in front of the English right attack, the musketry rolled ceaselessly, but all the efforts of the Russian officers, and they were strenuous and brave, could not induce the soldiers to charge the English with the bayonet. They lay down on their breasts upon the ground, and in this

way loaded and fired; they suffered, consequently, less than they otherwise would have suffered; but as the position was new to them, they fired too high, and very little loss was experienced by the British.

On the 11th there was an awful storm, and the Russians took advantage of it, hoping to come up unheard upon the British left attack. The sentries were vigilant, and the foe fell back before the resolute fire of our men. They were rallied by their officers, and it was next to impossible to hear their approach, so loud and fierce was the storm. They gained the parapet unheard and unseen, for although very stormy nights are seldom dark, that night was one of dismal gloom. As they leaped into the trench, they were received upon the bayonets of the 68th regiment. This corps behaved most gallantly, maintaining a formidable conflict hand to hand with superior numbers of the enemy. They had a brave and skilful commander in their colonel, Mackey. Clearing the Russians out of the work, the fight was resumed with the enemy's supports, and this time the Russians were obliged to use the bayonet in and out of the trench. The conflict ended as such conflicts between the British and Russians always ended, by a decisive defeat of the latter. Their dead and wounded were numerous, and prisoners were left in the hands of the gallant 68th. In reference to these combats the English commander wrote home on the 12th of May as follows:—

"I do myself the honour to acquaint your lordship that General de la Marmora, with a portion of the Sardinian contingent, arrived off Balaklava on the night of the 8th instant, and he came up to head-quarters the following morning. The very unfavourable state of the weather since the 9th has prevented any material part of the force being landed; and it has been found necessary to send the vessels that brought it, and which could not be got into the harbour, to Kazatch Bay, until it should moderate. Five troops of the 12th Lanciers landed on the 9th from the *Himalaya*, which performed the voyage from Alexandria to Balaklava in ninety-four hours. The enemy made two serious assaults upon our most advanced parallel of the right attack on the night of the 9th, but were on each occasion most nobly met, and repulsed with considerable loss. The arrangements of Colonel Trollope; who had charge of the right attack, and Lieutenant-colonel Mundy, the field-officer of the trenches, were most judicious; and Captain Turner, of the Royal Fusileers, and Captain Jordan, of the 34th regiment, are reported to have done their duty in the most gallant manner. They opened a powerful fire on our trenches on the following night, and exposed their columns to

a heavy musketry fire from the troops on duty. They did not, however, reach the parapets, nor, indeed, come very near them. Last night a very determined sortie was made upon the advance of our left attack. The enemy moved forward in two columns from the Woronzoff Road. Our advanced sentries having slowly retired, the guard of the trenches was prepared to receive them, and consequently drove them back in the most determined manner. A few Russians only got into the parallel, and five were left dead close outside. The conduct of both officers and men was admirable, and it is with deep concern that I have to report the death of Captain Edwards, of the 68th foot, and that of five men. I have also the pain of saying that the wounded amount to thirty. Owing to the great quantity of rain which has fallen during the last few days, the service in the trenches has again been most arduous and severe upon our men, who deserve all praise for their energy and untiring perseverance. I enclose the returns of casualties to the 10th instant."

On the 15th his lordship again addressed the minister of war:—

"Since my despatch of the 12th instant, nothing has occurred worthy of being reported to your lordship. The fire has been very slack, and that of the enemy has been directed towards the French works, rather than against the English trenches. The remainder of the 12th Lanciers has arrived, and will be disembarked to-day. All our means are devoted to the landing of the Sardinian troops, which the bad weather had prevented on the arrival of the first ships. I have found it necessary, in some instances, to land artillery horses at Kazatch Bay, to avoid further crowding the harbour of Balaklava. I enclose the return of casualties to the 13th instant, inclusive."

The camps were much distressed to hear that Miss Nightingale was attacked with Crimean fever. The heat now set in with nearly as much inconvenience to the men as the cold of winter, and as there was much decomposing matter about the camps, sickness went on increasing. The troops suffered much from the want of water, and but for the rains which had fallen for some days, the inconvenience would have been much greater.

The correspondents of the English press complained of the extravagance with which the chiefs of departments conducted their affairs, especially in the navy; and the way in which transports were kept idle in the harbour at enormous expense. Sir James Graham, who, as first lord of the Admiralty under the Palmerston government, ought to have known something of these matters, stated

in his examination before the Sebastopol committee, almost in the same breath, that Admiral Dundas and that Lord Raglan were the responsible persons having control in this department; both officers disclaimed it, and Admiral Dundas declared that he never did or would assume the smallest responsibility or control in connection with the transport service. Mr. Russell computed that every sailor serving ashore cost the country about £25 per day, in consequence of the detention of vessels for their use in some way or other. A transport laden remained, according to the *Times'* correspondent, five weeks in harbour, without discharging its cargo, the country paying about £2 15s. per ton, per month. By the middle of May the heat was ninety-five degrees in the shade, and the sickness, indicated in the early part of the month, much increased. This state of things, at last, called for the notice of the commander-in-chief in his despatches. The reports of the medical officers, sent by him as enclosures, were interesting statistically, and as showing the difficulties still to be encountered in this great siege. On the 19th of May Lord Raglan wrote thus to Lord Panmure:—

“I have the honour to enclose a letter from the inspector-general of hospitals forwarding the weekly report on the sick of the army under my command. I deeply regret to have to draw your lordship's attention to the fact that cholera has reappeared here, that twenty men have died, and that fifty-two men were yesterday labouring under the fatal disease. The troops have been free from it for several months, and I was in hopes that we should have had no return of it. General Canrobert informs me that it had never ceased to prevail in the French army, in a greater or lesser degree.”

In this despatch Lord Raglan enclosed a report from Dr. Hall, inspector-general of hospitals, dated at the head-quarters camp, on the 14th, and which ran as follows:—

“I have the honour to report on the weekly state of sick of the army serving in the Crimea, from the 6th to the 12th instant, and to observe that the following are the proportions, which are extremely moderate, viz.:—Ratio of admissions to strength during the week, 3.92 per cent.; ratio of deaths to strength during the week, 0.20 per cent.; but I regret to have to add that since the 12th instant spasmodic cholera has considerably increased, and as many as eighteen deaths, and fifty-two cases under treatment, have been reported within the last twenty-four hours. The 4th division, including the Buffs and 71st, the 2nd and the light divisions, with B G and P batteries of artillery, have suffered most; but as yet the

disease can hardly be said to exist in the cavalry, 1st and 3rd divisions, or in the siege-train. This exemption, however, there is reason to apprehend, will not be of any very long duration. Hitherto the disease has chiefly attacked new comers, and many of the cases have occurred when the men were either actually in the trenches, or immediately after their return from duty in them. This may have been owing to the combined causes of fatigue and local miasma, but to neither in particular, for we find the men of the B G P batteries, who never go into the trenches at all, and who are not overworked, have suffered nearly as much as any others. All the men attacked in them, with, I believe, one exception, had recently arrived in the Crimea. In the P battery, two of the men attacked had only just landed; one, I think, had been about twenty-four, and the other thirty-six hours on shore when they were attacked, and in both the disease followed intemperance.

“The weather, which for some days previous to the 10th had been extremely warm, was followed on that day by heavy rain, which continued, alternating with periods of dense fog, during the whole of the 11th and 12th; but it has now cleared up again, and the temperature has been considerably reduced. The Buffs and 71st, which had only just marched up to their new encamping ground before the rain set in, were ill prepared for such an occurrence, and their tents, which had not been properly trenched, were speedily flooded. The 48th regiment, in the 4th division, and the 2nd battalion of the Royals, in the 2nd division, both newly-arrived regiments, had been a few days longer in camp, and were somewhat better prepared, but the sites of their camp are not good, nor are those of the Buffs or 71st either. The 48th are on a level piece of ground, where the 63rd hospital establishments were in the winter: the soil is tenacious, and the water lodges in pools, and remains until evaporated by the sun's rays. The Buffs and second battalion of the Royals are on low ground between the second and fourth divisions, with the same disadvantages as the 48th; the 71st occupy rather better ground, as their tents are pitched just where the ground begins to rise to form the hill on which the huts of the 14th and 39th have been built; but, I think, all these regiments might be removed with great advantage to their health, to the higher and drier ground, and I hope, from the short distance, without any very material detriment to their military position. The health of the first division continues to improve, and the number of the fever cases in the 79th and 93rd is considerably reduced. The men are well supplied, and the duties and fatigues comparatively light. In the left siege-train and attack

some cases of low continued fever have occurred, arising, Mr. Elliot, the superintending surgeon, thinks, from fatigues in the heat of the day, and exposure to damp at night. Two serious accidents have occurred during the week, one requiring amputation of the thigh, on account of cannon-shot injury of the knee, the other an injury of the foot, occasioned by the same shot, requiring the removal of the heel and a bone adjoining it, called the astragalus. These injuries occurred on the 7th, and are both doing well. There is another interesting case in the hospital of the left siege-train, where the greater part of the lower jaw on both sides was carried away by a cannon shot. This case, under the able and indefatigable care of Staff-assistant Surgeon A. H. Taylor, is rapidly proceeding to a cure, and, by judiciously drawing the parts together, the deformity will by no means be so considerable as might be imagined. The man is now walking about, and though he as yet requires to be fed through a tube, he is able to smoke his pipe. The cavalry division is improving in health. There are fewer fever cases, and the man of the 13th Light Dragoons, who last week was considered in a hopeless state, is, I am glad to say, progressing favourably. The 10th Hussars is the only regiment in the cavalry division that has anything like a heavy sick list, and they are suffering from dysentery contracted in Egypt, and kept up by sleeping on the ground here, after the comforts of Indian barrack life. In the second division febrile complaints still continue to be the most numerous class of diseases, but bowel affections are becoming more common, and spasmodic cholera has made its appearance; eighteen cases have occurred during the week, of which seven proved fatal. In the third division, although there is no marked diminution in the number of sick, the decreased mortality marks a mitigation in the form of fever that is prevailing. The mortality this week is only one-half what it was last week. Fourth division:—Cholera has made its appearance in this division during the week, and thirteen cases have occurred, seven of which died, and four of them belonged to the 48th regiment.

"On the night of the 11th the Russians made a sortie, and one officer and five men of the 68th were killed, and twenty-two men were wounded; among the latter is a case of musket bullet lodged in the brain. The man must have been shot from above, as the ball entered the upper part of the head and lodged. The trephine was applied, and several *speculi* of bone, that had been driven down, removed; but the ball was so deeply embedded in the brain it could not be discovered. He is still alive, but there is little or no hope of his ultimate recovery.

"Light division:—In this division, as in all others, fever is the prevalent disease, but only two deaths have occurred from it during the week. Seven men have died from wounds, and two of cholera—one in the 77th, and the other in the 23rd regiment. Fifty-five cases of gun-shot wounds were admitted during the week, the greater portion of them fresh wounds. Of the seven deaths that occurred, one was a wound of the lung, one a wound of the abdomen, in which the small intestines were wounded; one a fracture of the skull by a musket ball, another a severe fracture of the thigh and ankle, by the bursting of a shell, besides bullet wounds through both arms. There was a second case of injury of the head, as well as a second of injury of the lungs. The seventh death is not detailed.

"Every precaution is being taken to remove nuisances from the camps and their neighbourhood, and to improve their sanitary condition, as well as that of the locality, and in this the sanitary commissioners sent out from England afford their cordial assistance."

On the 19th his lordship sent home a brief despatch to this purport:—

"I do myself the honour to enclose the list of casualties that occurred between the 14th and 17th instant. For the last two days there has been hardly any firing on either side. Large convoys have come into Sebastopol from the northern side, but there has been no movement of importance. The heat has been very oppressive since Wednesday. I deeply regret to have to report that I have just received a letter from General Osten-Sacken, in answer to an inquiry I addressed to him on the subject, informing me that Captain Arnold, of the 4th regiment of foot, who was wounded and taken prisoner on the night of the 5th, died that same night."

Another despatch, of the same date, was very satisfactory to the public:—

"I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter from Captain Montagu, of the Royal Engineers, prisoner of war, dated Simpheropol, April 28th, transmitting a list of British prisoners who died either there or on their road from Sebastopol. I beg to forward this return in duplicate. Your lordship will see with satisfaction that the British prisoners who are sick in the hospital at Simpheropol receive equal if not greater attention than the Russian soldiers from the authorities, and are constantly receiving presents from visitors."

The enclosures which this despatch carried made the following report:—

Simpheropol, April 28.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose the accompanying list of prisoners who died either

here or on their road from Sebastopol. There are some others dead; but Thomas Berry, 8th Hussars, who furnished me with this list, could not remember the names of the rest.

I have, &c.,

H. MONTAGU,
Captain, Royal Engineers.

To Major-general Esteourt, &c.

"I have been given to understand that the prisoners who are sick in hospital have received equal, if not even greater attention than their own soldiers from the authorities, and are constantly receiving presents, &c., from visitors. There are five or seven men who will be sent the first opportunity to Odessa, for the purpose of being forwarded to England, they being incapable of serving again."

The events of the siege up to the 26th are given in brief in a despatch of his lordship's, of that date:—

"I have the honour to report to your lordship that a portion of the allied armies took up a position yesterday on this side of the Tchernaya, the left of the French resting under a redoubt established upon the edge of this ridge overhanging the valley, and opposite the Inkerman heights; the right extending beyond Traktar; and the ground more to the right, behind Tchorgoum, being occupied by the Sardinian troops, aided in their advance by the 10th Hussars, and 12th Lancers, and the horse artillery, under Colonel Parlbj. Omar Pasha at the same time moved forward to the low heights in front of Balaklava, and thus afforded support to the French divisions before him. These were commanded by General Canrobert, who pushed forward across the bridge of Traktar, and drove the enemy, who were not in great numbers, off, and, having cleared his front, he withdrew to this side of the river, where he now remains. Sir Colin Campbell advanced the Royal Marines from the high ridge on our extreme right to a point commanding the old Baidar Road; and Colonel Parlbj, with the regiments I have mentioned, reconnoitred the country on the immediate right of General La Marmora's position, and patrolled along the Woronzoff Road, in the direction of Baidar. The appearance and bearing of the Sardinian troops are highly satisfactory, and I anticipate the greatest advantage from their addition to this army under their distinguished leader, General La Marmora, whose zeal for the service and ardent desire to co-operate with us I am happy to have so early an opportunity of acknowledging and recording. Nothing of importance has occurred in the British trenches since I wrote to your lordship on the 19th instant. The death of Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, on the night of the 19th ult., as already announced

to your lordship, prevented my receiving in due course the official report of the conduct of the officers serving immediately under him; and it is only a few days ago that I learnt that Captain Gilby was the next in seniority to him, of the 77th, on the occasion, and that he had highly distinguished himself. I deem it an act of justice to a most deserving officer to bring his conduct under the notice of your lordship. I enclose the returns of casualties to the 24th inst. Your lordship will regret to see that Lieutenant Williams, of the 17th, has been severely wounded. I have the greatest pleasure in announcing to your lordship the brilliant success which attended an attack by the French army of some ambuscades at the head of the Quarantine Bay, and in front of a cemetery near it. The attack was made on the night of the 22nd, and the operation was completed on the following evening. The enemy had collected a very large force on the first occasion to resist our allies; but, notwithstanding, the French were enabled, by their brilliant gallantry and determined resolution, to maintain themselves in the pits at the head of the bay on the 22nd, and on the 23rd to occupy the whole, with less resistance on the part of the Russians, who are stated to have sustained a very severe loss. The French were necessarily exposed to a very heavy fire, and were assailed by vastly superior numbers. The achievement they accomplished redounds therefore highly to their renown, and is hailed with satisfaction by their allies. An expedition, composed of British, French, and Turkish troops, sailed for Kertch on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, and I hope soon to be able to announce the landing of the corps, and the result of its first operations. It is commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and has been conveyed in English and French ships under the command of Admiral Sir E. Lyons and Admiral Bruat, whose exertions to carry out this important service have been most conspicuous. The 31st regiment has arrived from Corfu. I am much concerned to have to report that Major-general Buller has been obliged, by the failure of his health, to leave the army. He has been constant in the discharge of his duty since he joined this army, distinguished himself both at Alma and Inkerman, and persevered in taking his turn in the trenches until driven by illness to withdraw. I regret the loss of his services exceedingly."

The sailing of the Kertch expedition, referred to by his lordship in the foregoing, will form the subject of a separate chapter, as a distinct theatre of action will be brought before the reader.

The attack on the 22nd, of the cemetery and

rifle-pits referred to, was one of the most gallant acts hitherto effected by our ally during the progress of the siege. General Pelissier immediately on assuming the command, determined to carry into execution the measures which both he and Lord Raglan considered to be necessary. Instead of attacking the town as one vast intrenched camp, the points were to be selected for assault, to capture which would gradually break down the strength of the enemy's position; so that the siege would, as it were, resolve itself into several sieges, each having a certain distinct character from the other. The English directed their efforts against the Great Redan, and the Garden Battery; and the French more particularly directed their labours against the Mamelon. To distract the enemy's attention from the procedure against that work, as well as to dislodge him from a position of importance, the assault of the works about the cemetery was undertaken. The enemy had worked with sleepless vigilance and restless toil against the French approaches on the left, and their defences arose, as if by magic, formidable alike in strength and numbers. The French approaches, which were formed in the result of the gallant assault of the 2nd of May, gave the enemy serious alarm, and to avert pressure in that direction, the enemy turned his attention to his extreme right, on the side of the Quarantine. That which the French had to apprehend on this point was the formation, by the Russians, of a *place d'armes*, favourable for them against the left attack of the besiegers. To connect certain ambuscades on the bay with the larger side of the cemetery, appeared to be the object of the enemy, which Pelissier determined to defeat: he accordingly ordered De Salles to force the position. The nature of the operation was, in all respects, similar to that which De Salles had personally accomplished on the 2nd, in front of the Central Bastion; but the sphere of battle was larger and more favourable to the defenders. A most bloody resistance was expected. De Salles committed the conduct of the attack to General Paté, assisted by La Motte Rouge and Beuret, generals of brigade; in company with these officers De Salles reconnoitred the position, and then summoned Generals Dalesme and Lebœuf, officers of the engineers and artillery, and by their advice determined on the mode of procedure.

At four o'clock, the troops marked off for the attack assembled on the same spot where they had mustered, who on the 2nd of May issued forth against the works before the Flagstaff Bastion. Colonel Raoult marked the points of preparatory occupation.

The force was divided into two distinct commands: one detachment was to attack the ambuscades on the bay, the other to attack

those which debouched from an angle of the cemetery. On the former point, General Beuret was directed with three companies of the 10th battalion of foot Chasseurs, three battalions of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion, and a battalion of the 98th regiment; on the second, La Motte Rouge, with the picked companies of the 1st regiment of the Foreign Legion, with two battalions of the 28th: a battalion of the 18th, and two battalions of the Imperial Guard were in reserve. The force thus set in motion was most formidable, and it was evident that the assault of these ambuscades would assume the proportion of a battle. The troops employed were excellent, and the Foreign Legion, as usual, were among the foremost. This body of men was comprised of Poles and Italians, with some Germans, Swiss, Belgians, and Spaniards; but either of the first two contributed more than all the last four put together. The men were brave, and generally hated the Russians; but were sensitive to the slightest reflection upon their respective nationalities, and were apt in such cases to desert.

At nine o'clock General Paté gave the signal, and the battle began. The soldiers of the Foreign Legion darted forward with indescribable impetuosity upon the ambuscades of the cemetery, carrying it at the point of the bayonet: La Motte Rouge, ever foremost where engaged, leading them himself. The other body of the legion carried with equal courage the ambuscades on the bay. On that very night, the enemy had intended to connect by works these two points of attack; and there was, therefore, a far larger body of troops collected than otherwise would have been at hand. This is evident from the journal of the operations of the Russian army, which contains the following entry:—

"The aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff having remarked that the enemy extended his trenches on the left of his approaches, and thus menaced our lodgments near the cemetery, ordered that there should be constructed a line of counter-approaches, in front of those lodgments, on the declivity of the Mamelon, towards the enemy's side, with embankment towards Bastion 5. This new intrenchment could be defended by the cross-fires of our nearest batteries, and the proposed object was to establish, at its extremity, a battery to take in flank the works of the besiegers. Intending to finish in the night of the 22nd to 23rd May the intrenched work so commenced, the aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff ordered that the regiments of Chasseurs of the Marshal Prince of Warsaw and Podolia, with two battalions of that of Jitomir, should be concentrated at nine o'clock in the evening in front of Bastion 6, to protect the works. The battalions of the regiment of infantry of Minsk,

and that of the Chasseurs d'Ouglitch were sent to reinforce the troops engaged."

With these forces the Muscovites rallied and charged. For two hours the battle raged, and the French were victors; immediately they worked to fortify the conquered post, while the cannon of the vanquished played upon them with case-shot. On the side of the Quarantine ravine the Russians poured forth in great numbers; but the French engineers had to some extent directed the workmen to find shelter, while the obstinate Foreign Legion lined the works. It was the custom of the Russians to come on in formal attacks with great noise; their drums beating, trumpets braying, and the men uttering the most dissonant yells, to which their officers frequently gave a sort of key-note. All this was practised to intimidate the French with the idea of superior numbers, but the "Inkerman screech," as the English called it, had no effect upon the legion, they silently and resolutely stood to their arms: they received the shock of the fanatical and excited host, a few well-aimed volleys were exchanged, and then the dreadful bayonet shock smote the contending lines. The night was not dark, it was summer, and the combatants could distinctly see one another in every varying phase of the fight. Terrible was this conflict—few living men have witnessed such another: each party brought up his reserves; the French guard charged with shouts of enthusiasm, and the voltigeurs of the guard displayed the agility and valour for which their description of force has been celebrated since the campaigns of the great Napoleon. The French reserves as they came up were mowed down in considerable numbers by the cannon of the foe; and, after a long struggle, and after penetrating every ambuscade, the French had to retire upon their intrenchments: they re-formed, were reinforced, rushed in again with the same impetuosity, and again were victors. The French force on this point became overwhelmingly numerous at this juncture, for two other battalions of the voltigeurs of the guard had joined them, and two regiments of chasseurs; yet all that this great force could do was to destroy the ambuscades—the obstinancy with which the Russians fought prevented the permanent occupation of the post. Colonel Raoult was desperately wounded, and some officers of well-known merit perished.

The next night the battle was renewed: Pelissier declared that he would sacrifice 10,000 men, rather than allow the Russians to carry on their system of counter works in that direction: meanwhile, throughout the day, the Russians conducted a heavy fire from the town. In the evening the assailing columns were formed at the previous rendezvous; the division of Le Vaillant was to bear the brunt of the

battle, and the guards and two additional battalions of voltigeurs were to form a strong reserve. On the extreme left of the French the conquest of the previous evening had been more complete, and there the troops were powerfully reinforced under General Couster: General Duval was to attack the works under the cemetery wall, for many had not been destroyed the night before. At nine o'clock a rocket shot up as the signal of advance, and the troops dashed on with the same impetuosity as in their previous attack. The enemy did not appear to expect any assault that night, and their false security betrayed them; almost without resistance they were expelled from all the posts they ought, with their usual bravery, to have defended. As soon as ever the enemy was driven out, the French engineers commenced their works, and continued under a heavy fire to urge them forward: so paralysed were the Russians by the suddenness of the *coup*, that they did not dare to resume the contest. The works went on all night until dawn under a heavy fire of grape, and such ambuscades as did not come within the French plans were destroyed.

On the 25th, Osten-Sacken sent out word that an armistice for burial was desired: it was granted. The French handed over 1200 dead to the enemy; many more perished, for the commander of the French artillery directed his guns with fatal effect upon the Russian reserves: 4000 men, in killed and wounded, were lost to the czar, and half that number to the French emperor.

Soon after this it was resolved to extend the positions of the army. It was necessary to do so from the scarcity of water, and of fodder for the horses. General Canrobert was entrusted with a force to clear the valley of the Tchernaya of any parties of the enemy lounging there, and open the way for the occupation of the ground to the very banks of the river. The whole valley was rich with verdure, and offered tempting supplies for the horses of the invading hosts. The force of Canrobert was composed of his own division, Bruat's division, and of the two cavalry divisions of Morriss and D'Allonville. Five batteries of the artillery of the reserve were added. These corps assembled at midnight on the plain. French authorities, in relating this affair, omit all mention of the Sardinians, who preceded Canrobert, and pushed their way to the Traktar Bridge, driving back the Cossacks, who made feeble opposition to their advances. A considerable Turkish force followed, of whom our French friends make no more mention than of the gallant Sardinians. Sardinians, Turks, and French, occupied the valley without resistance. The French threw their powerful force of cavalry across the stone bridge called

Traktar; and these were followed by French and Sardinian infantry. Upon all these troops the guns of the Russian redoubt gave play; but, before the arrangements made to storm it could be carried out, the enemy secured the guns, and retreated upon the McKenzie Heights, and upon Aitodor. The allies retired to the left bank of the river, and the French occupied the heights of Fedukhine. The Sardinians pitched their tents to the French right, on the heights between Inkerman and Tchorgoun. The Turks formed themselves into two lines on the knolls where the battle of Balaklava had so much of its interest. The French continued, day by day, to extend themselves towards the valley of Baidar, which furnished excellent and abundant sup-

plies for the cavalry. This the enemy would have destroyed had he any foresight as to its occupation by the allies; but he rested secure, supposing that their great suffering, especially on the part of the English, would incapacitate them for such an extension of their lines.

General Canrobert resigned the command to General Morriss, the senior officer. The troops rejoiced in the re-occupation of this beautiful valley, then clothed with rich verdure, and variegated with flowers of every form and hue, for which the southern Crimea has been famed.

So ended May in the embattled armies, which were preparing for still further carnage and still greater actions.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

HOME EVENTS AFTER THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.—PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.—DISTRIBUTION OF MEDALS BY THE QUEEN.

"There be three parts of business—the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few."—LORD BACON.

IN the chapter on the Vienna conference some home events were anticipated in order to give a completeness of narrative to the whole series of events connected with that political abortion—

"Parturiunt montes nascitur ridiculus mus."

Scarcely had the Vienna conferences terminated, when the government was fiercely attacked for its conduct in connection with them. Some of those attacks were simply factious; others were dictated by principle, and a jealousy for the honour of the country. In the Peers, the Lords Grey, Derby, Mulmshury, and Ellenborough, looking at the war and the conduct of the ministry from very different stand-points, raised various discussions. In the Commons, Messrs. Gibson, Bright, Layard, Roebuck, and D'Israeli, conducted a series of cross-questions and debates exceedingly annoying to the ministry. These parties were hardly met by the Premier with sufficient dignity, and Lord John bore himself with an insolent *hauteur*, incompatible with his real position.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Milner Gibson proposed an address to the crown, declaring the regret of the house that the Vienna conferences had not been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and asserting the opinion of the house that the overtures of Russia offered the elements of a just and equitable peace. As Mr. Gibson was the mouth-piece of the peace-party, this resolution was regarded as of supreme importance, especially as it was understood out of doors that the whole Peelite

faction would support the member for Manchester. Lord Palmerston, however, adroitly parried the blow, by stating that Austria was engaged in seeking a fresh solution of the difficulty; that he (Lord Palmerston) would eagerly receive any honourable approaches on the part of Russia, or any satisfactory mediation on the part of Austria, but he would never consent to the humiliation of the country by a treaty which did not guarantee a lasting and solid peace. This was well received by the house, and Mr. Gibson withdrew his motion. In the course of this debate, however, Lord John Russell delivered a verbose speech, which did very much to impair the good effect of that made by Lord Palmerston, exciting some uneasiness in the house, and much in the country, as to the probability of useless conferences at Vienna impairing the spirit, energy, and earnestness of the allies in carrying on the war.

Later in the month Mr. D'Israeli divided the Commons on the conduct of the war, and of the Vienna negotiations. The speech was so thoroughly partisan that it failed in producing any moral effect; and, notwithstanding the deficiencies of the government, the discontent of the country, and the recent blundering of Lord John Russell at Vienna, Mr. D'Israeli, in a full house, obtained from all parties dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs, only 219 votes, while 319 were recorded for the government. Mr. D'Israeli, in the debate, made a happy and effective use of the fact of Lord John Russell's ignorance, when foreign minis-

ter, of the actual treaties between Russia and Turkey, and his recognition of a protection of the sultan's Greek subjects by the czar. Lord John, by a weak, unworthy, and ludicrous distinction between the words protector and protection, sought to escape the position in which Mr. D'Israeli placed him, but only provoked more biting sarcasm and withering invective from the eloquent opposition leader. It was evident, however, from the vote that no other public man shared the confidence of the house and the country so largely as Lord Palmerston, and that all attempts to disturb the ministry, by motions in either house, must prove failures. There was, however, one statesman who did not think so: Earl Grey, although a witness of the triumph of the government in the Commons, and well knowing that the Derby party were not disposed to vote with him, persisted in moving a resolution in the Lords similar to that of Mr. Gibson in the Commons. His lordship's resolution was thoroughly pro-Russian: it would pledge the peers of England to the adequacy of the Muscovite terms of peace. He delivered a speech, clever, captious, inconsequential, and personally querulous, enunciating the most incompatible principles, and betraying a very vicious temper; and after all, finding no supporters, and uselessly consuming the time of the country, did not press his motion to a division. Earl Grey's motion was justly characterised by the *Times* as "extraordinary;" and the *Globe*, with equal propriety, remarked that no other member of either house could make such a motion and preserve his character as a man of sense, not to say a statesman; but the evening organ of the government had great faith that this feat, to all other men impossible, his lordship had achieved. It was quite certain that he achieved nothing else on the occasion—if, indeed, his reputation for either sense or statesmanship passed through the ordeal without loss; unless it be that, having already fallen so low, it could in neither respect continue to descend, whatever the political gyrations of this eccentric peer. Lord Grey was of opinion that the terms offered by Russia were quite satisfactory, or, at all events, sufficiently so to cause us to sheathe the sword. Yet his lordship was neither a Quaker nor a Moravian; there was no likelihood of his being found in the chair, instead of Mr. Charles Hindley, at a meeting of the Peace Society; nor was he likely to be seen "arm-in-arm" with noble John Bright on his way to the Mount Street meeting-house in Manchester. We had a very expensive and ill-conducted war of his lordship's management at the Cape, in which he showed no such horror of war, for its own sake, as would interfere with the execution of his own administrative crotchets.

During the last Sikh war he was a very indifferent administrator, or minister, and he will never repair to Lord Gough for a character in these matters. To what, then, was to be attributed his lordship's anxiety to close with Russia in a peace, when, to use the well-known Hibernicism, "the reciprocity was all on one side?" We could comprehend Mr. Bright when he advised us to lay down our arms and betake us to the olive branch. To say that we should not resist, but only remonstrate by quaker or other deputations to St. Petersburg, may be erroneous, but there is a principle in it which we are bound to respect, and the men who urged it were consistent. Joseph Sturge did not blow hot and cold with the same mouth. He did not talk one day of the duty of a vigorous prosecution of the campaign, and another for closing it on any terms for peace's sake. It was with Lord Grey such a paradox of policy was alone to be found. What did Russia offer? She would consent that the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus should have open gates, through which the allies could enter the Euxine, and Russia enter the Mediterranean. This might or might not be an advantage to the Western powers; but it would be a very certain advantage to Russia. But what right had any power to demand of Turkey that she should open the sea-gates of her empire to the cruisers of all other powers? What would be thought of the honour of nations who allied themselves for the integrity of her dominion, and made peace by ceding her most sacred territorial privileges to her enemy? We had no right to enforce such a measure upon Turkey, even if the advantage to ourselves more than counterbalanced the concession to Russia. Russia had proved herself a perfidious enemy of Turkey. She had lent her help only the more effectually to destroy her. She repelled Mehemet Ali because it was not for her own interests to see so powerful a chief sitting in the gate of the City of the Sultan. She would rather aid the Padishaw to repel the Pasha than, by allowing the latter to clutch the reins of empire, find a more powerful barrier raised against her own encroachments. Yet, on the ground of such services, she asked for a recognition from Turkey of confidence, and a free passage through her waters. The other proposal of Russia, to keep the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus closed against all ships of war was nothing more nor less than to propose the *status quo ante bellum*: it was in effect to say, "Withdraw your armies from our territory, and your fleets from the disputed sea, and leave to Turkey and ourselves the task of balancing naval and military strength there." Why, this was just what the two powers had been doing hitherto, with exclusive profit to

Russia, with continual danger to the balance of European power, and uneasiness, if not alarm, to every government and people proximately or remotely interested. Yet Lord Grey thought this was all very good of Russia: so it was, for herself; and so it would be for Lord Grey also, sympathising as he did with the Greek church, and anxious to promote its power—at all events, when not in direct collision with the Latin. It would also bring into disrepute the politicians who excluded Lord Grey from power—Peelite and Whig—and smooth the way to the great object of that nobleman's ambition—the premiership. If, however, the government had gone out upon his motion, he would never have dared to carry into effect the policy upon which he should foist himself into power, admitting that in such case he would be sent for by her majesty. But he knew very well the government would scarcely go out upon an adverse vote of the lords; his aim must therefore have been to weaken them by such a vote at home, and more especially abroad, and prepare the way for himself on some other question. Still we do not deem it necessary to find for the noble earl any such calculating policy, however correctly the supposition may depict him. It may, after all, have been one of the frequent outbursts of oddity to which he is liable, arising in great part from the affectation of being wiser than everybody, and having the political sagacity of the empire centred in himself. This made his lordship the torment of every ministry with which he had been connected. His faculty of mischief, one way or other, in or out of office, seldom rested, and would, in his position, be far from harmless, if he were less odd and crotchety in his selection of occasions for its exercise. Yet this was the man who, some time previously, a party were anxious to make minister of war. *Proh pudor!* What a minister of war we should have had in the man who would again give up Turkey to the honour of a czar, the honesty of his diplomatists, and the mercy of his marauders. Welcome peace, if we can secure it with untarnished principle; but to play fast and loose with the empire which we interposed to save, and to gamble with our own blood and treasure—satisfied with a drawn game, where that was the only hope for our opponent, and the only fear for ourselves, was a policy as humiliating to our intelligence as it would have been to our honour and our power.

It was the tone adopted by both the government and its opponents in these discussions which incensed the Austrian government, and caused it to publish these documents which expressed the part Lord John Russell and the French foreign minister had played at the Vienna conferences. Count Buol addressed a

circular to the minister and agents of Austria at the various courts where her representatives were placed, recapitulating the facts of Austrian mediation at the conference, and the perfect willingness of the English colonial minister, and the French minister for foreign affairs to accept her terms. On the 29th of June inquiries were made in the Commons as to the truth of the statements contained in that circular. The answers given to these inquiries showed the dangers to which secret diplomacy had exposed the country. It then came out that the cabinet ignored all that Lord John had proposed to do—that his French colleague retired because he could not conscientiously aid in carrying on war when he was convinced that the terms of peace offered ought to have been accepted, while the English minister kept his place, and continued to be a most bellicose member of the administration, if his warlike speeches in the Commons were fair criteria of his views and spirit; he all the while conceived that Russia had offered terms which England ought to have accepted—the government and the minister so acting concealing the whole transaction from the country! On the 6th of July the consequence of these replies was developed—the whole matter was brought more formally and seriously before the house. On the 10th of July, Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of motion—"That the conduct of our minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna, has, in the opinion of this house, shaken the confidence of the country in those to whom its affairs are intrusted." Lord John, upon this notice, resigned his place in the cabinet, and thereby saved the ministry. There can be no doubt that a vote, as signally adverse against the government as that obtained by Mr. Roebuck against the cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, would have marked the indignation of the commons and people of England at these underhand proceedings.

Independent of the class of debates in both houses, noticed in the foregoing pages, there were other important questions agitated, which stirred the heart of the nation. Late in April Captain Boldero brought before the house the deficiencies in the medical department of the army, and he adduced irrefutable proof of his allegations. The government resisted his motion, and succeeded in defeating it only by a very narrow majority. Their victory, however, was a moral defeat, for the public felt that while Lord Palmerston personally deserved their confidence, he was surrounded by men the enemies of all reform. Later still in the same month, the chancellor of the exchequer made his financial statement, producing a very general conviction of his unfitness for the magnitude of the task imposed upon him. The demands made by him upon the resources of the country were appalling. Lavish as the

country had been of its treasures for the adequate prosecution of the war, all that vast supply had been expended, although the soldiers had been starved and left unclothed, without huts, badly armed to a great extent, and often, with supplies of ammunition which could not be used against the enemy. The country felt that it was plundered—for the wild and reckless waste of the public funds, unprincipled neglect, and the employment of incompetent persons to please the ruling class, when competent persons could be had for every purpose, was plunder, in fact, by whatever other name it might in common parlance be described. The chancellor of the exchequer showed that forty millions sterling would be required for the army and navy, and that eighty-six millions sterling would be required for the year, and yet the estimate of taxes would be twenty-three millions short of the money required. A loan of sixteen millions, to be paid at one million per year after the war should terminate, was proposed to be taken up. These estimates provoked many discussions as to the competency and integrity of public men, which vibrated through the whole nation.

At the close of April Mr. Layard—to whose patriotism and ability the check put upon corrupt officialism was in a great measure to be attributed—gave notice of motion, “That the state of the country is such as to cause serious alarm; that the sacrifice of efficiency to family influence and party interests is the source of great misfortune and disgrace to the country; and that the house will support any ministry which can enforce the efficient conduct of the public service, and the vigorous conduct of the prosecution of the war.” “The house,” however, was not willing to do all that Mr. Layard proposed to it, and persisted in entertaining the hope that Lord Palmerston, by his ability, energy, and patriotism, would be found equal to the crisis. The attempts to run down Mr. Layard by all parties interested in peculation and abuse were very appropriate to the motives that dictated them. There was a very general desire to see Mr. Layard in office, and in the War-office especially; and out of doors it was urged on all hands that Mr. Frederick Peel ought to give place to the honourable member.

Early in May discussions arose as to the comparative merits of the officers in the service of the crown, and in that of the Honourable East India Company. A very general impression prevailed that the country suffered by the inequality between the two services, and a great desire was spread to see the Company's officers more extensively employed in the war. The Earl of Ellenborough, in the Lords, and Sir E. Perry, in the Commons, called the attention of the government and the legislature to the importance of the matter. These motions,

though not immediately successful, laid the foundation for changes which were afterwards effected, equalising the degrees of rank of the two armies, and led in various ways to the employment of the Company's officers while the war continued.

On the 15th of May the Earl of Albemarle made an important motion—“That in order to bring the war to a speedy termination, it is necessary to restrict the trade of Russia by more efficient measures than any which have hitherto been adopted or conceived by her majesty's government.” The interest of this debate turned upon the economic considerations connected with the course proposed, and the undesirableness of doing anything that might offend Prussia, and throw her into the arms of the enemy. It was obvious from the facts brought out that Prussia was an enemy to the allies, and espoused, in every way which she dared, the cause of the aggressor.

On the 5th of May a movement commenced which was expected to do great things for the country. “The Administrative Reform Association” was formed at a public meeting, convened for the purpose in the London Tavern; Mr. Morley, an eminent merchant of the city, in the chair. This society did very little, and received very little general support, showing that, after all the misfortunes that befel the country, it was not prepared to “lay the axe to the root of the tree.” More failures, more discredit, and more suffering, and a *great deal* more of all these were necessary to shake the clinging reliance of the people from the classes who hitherto held the reins of power. Lord Palmerston saved these classes from ignominy, and preserved for them a longer hold of power, while he did his best to teach them to use well their position and influence. To no man living ought the aristocracy of England be so grateful as to Lord Palmerston. He saved that class—he served all others. His administration benefited the country at large, and averted the class ruin of his own order. Throughout the war the country was greatly indebted to the clear-sightedness, eloquence, and fidelity of Lord Lyndhurst. The veteran lawyer and statesman early in June called the attention of the peers to the double dealing and dubious policy of Austria. He boldly affirmed that a review of the whole course of procedure of that power led to the inference that she had a secret understanding with Russia and Prussia, and was playing the allies falsely. Lord Clarendon, in a tone and manner indicating that he was himself very much of Lord Lyndhurst's opinion, deprecated any reflections upon an ally which might yet join her forces to our own.

A resolution of Sir E. B. Lytton was carried in the Commons, which gave great satisfaction

to the public mind, it was as follows:—"That this house recommends to the earliest attention of her majesty's ministers the necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments, with a view to simplify and facilitate the transaction of public business, and, by instituting judicious tests of merit, as well as by removing obstructions to its fair proportion and legitimate rewards, to secure to the service of the state the largest available proportion of the energy and intelligence for which the people of this country are distinguished."

Early in June a very remarkable incident occurred, showing the feeling of the court and the alarm and disapprobation entertained in high quarters in reference to the public demand for the reform of abuses, and the more direct responsibility of the ministers and other officials to the Commons and the country. The desire of the country for a more direct and efficient popular control over the army, was alleged to have been one of the chief causes of the movement now to be noticed. On the 9th of June a banquet was given by the Trinity Corporation; Prince Albert was invited to that banquet. His royal highness was in a position in relation to the crown and the country which required the most careful abstinence from interference with the government of the country, except so far as he might give private advice to her majesty. The country would regard with constitutional jealousy any such interference on the part of a prince, a German by birth, and having German sympathies, and more especially as the retirement of Lord Palmerston from the Russell ministry was popularly believed to arise from his royal highness's too frequent meddling with foreign affairs. The old constitutional principle that the ministry are the responsible advisers of the crown, liable to be called to account by the people's house of parliament for any illegal, unconstitutional, or treasonable advice given to the crown, was too deeply seated in the English mind for the people to listen complacently to a lecture from the prince-consort on their behaviour to their rulers; and such was the character of the speech which he delivered. The English people felt that they were as competent to offer advice to his royal highness as he to them—that they had more experience than he had of the working of constitutional government—and that before he became the husband of their queen they had known how to perform their duty to her, and were likely to preserve their loyalty to her, and a just moderation towards any ministry appointed by her, without any help or counsel from him;—that to step out from his sanctuary of privilege to lecture them at public meetings for not confiding sufficiently in public men, when every

branch of the administration was proved to be corrupt,—and that most of all with which he officiously meddled, the army,—was on his part a great indiscretion. The public dealt leniently with this act of forgetfulness on the part of the prince, but they nevertheless felt that it was disrespectful to the nation which had adopted him; and a painful suspicion arose that the court sympathised after all with the foreign despotic governments, and that this sympathy was through his influence. No circumstance during the whole war tended so much to disturb the public mind, to make it suspicious of any movement of diplomacy, or to shake its loyalty—were that possible—to a queen so much beloved, and so deserving of that love, as the intrusive speech of his royal highness at the banquet of the Trinity Corporation. The following are the passages which excited public surprise, and caused public censure:—

"If there was ever a time at which her majesty's government, by whomsoever conducted, required the support—aye, not the support alone, but the confidence, good-will, and sympathy of their fellowmen—it is surely the present. It is not the way to success in war to support it, however ardently and enthusiastically, and, at the same time, to tie down and weaken the hands of those who have to conduct it. We are engaged with a mighty enemy, who is using against us all those wonderful powers which have sprung up under the generating influence of our liberty and our civilisation. You find him with all that force which unity of purpose and action, impenetrable secrecy, and uncontrolled despotic power have given, while we have to meet him under a state of things intended for peace, and for the promotion of that very civilisation, the offspring of public discussion, of the friction of parties, and of the popular control on the government and the state. The queen has no power to levy troops, nor has she any at her command but such as offer their voluntary services. Her government can take no measure for the prosecution of the war which it has not beforehand to explain in parliament. Her armies and fleets can make no movements, nor even prepare for any, without their being publicly announced in the papers. No mistake, however trifling, can occur, no want or weakness exist, which is not at once denounced, and even sometimes exaggerated, with a kind of morbid satisfaction. The queen's ambassador can enter into no negotiations without the government having to defend him by entering into all the arguments which that negotiator, in order to be successful, ought to be able to shut up in the innermost recesses of his heart. Nay, at the most critical position, when war and diplomatic relations may be at their height, an adverse vote in parliament may at a moment deprive the queen

of the whole of her confidential servants. Gentlemen, our constitutional government is undergoing a heavy trial, and we shall not get successfully through it unless the country will grant its confidence—patriotic, intelligent, and self-denying confidence—to her majesty's government."

Among the home incidents which attracted the attention of the people of England was the distribution of medals to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who had returned from the Crimea invalided or wounded. Her majesty had resolved to distribute the medals in person, and this greatly increased the interest of the occasion. It was deemed by the public a most graceful and befitting act on the part of her majesty, to give, with her own hands, the decorations won by those whose valour so nobly shielded her throne. The feelings of the brave men who were to receive these decorations were raised to enthusiasm, when they learned that they were to receive such a reward of their courage and constancy from their beloved queen herself. The place appointed for this grand ceremony was most appropriate—the square of the Horse-Guards, in St. James's Park. The writer of this History, as he looked upon the extensive and magnificent preparations for this event, felt strongly the sequel it presented to the scene which he witnessed little more than a year before, near the same spot, when the people's representatives passed along to Buckingham Palace to assure her majesty of their support in the war she had declared. Galleries were erected for the accommodation of the Lords and Commons, for the members of the government, and for the families of those who were to be publicly honoured—a most graceful tribute on the part of the country to the feelings of these gallant men. How proud that day must many a wife's, and parent's, and brother's, and sister's heart have been, as the objects of their affectionate solicitude bowed before his sovereign to receive upon his breast the glorious badge his noble conduct won! The royal family occupied a capacious balcony projecting from the lower central windows of the Horse-Guards, which was festooned with scarlet cloth and otherwise decorated.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th of May, the scene presented from the windows of the Horse-Guards, and the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses, was most striking and effective: a vast mass of people filled the whole area within view, yet all preserving the greatest order. The most conspicuous object was a group of 100 officers, decorated with various foreign badges, those of Turkey, France, &c., awaiting the most highly appreciated of all their distinctions which they were that day to receive. The bands of the household

infantry were upon the parade at nine o'clock, and the guard of honour consisted of the flank companies of the battalions which had remained at home. The non-commissioned officers and men who were to receive the medals were drawn up in the rear of the guards; there were also drawn up detachments connected with these regiments which were serving in the Crimea. When this arrangement was effected, the band of the Royal Marines was heard as they marched from Whitehall, followed by the officers and men of that corps, and by the officers and men of the other branch of the sea service who were to receive medals. Her majesty occupied a suitable position upon a *dais*. The Duke of Cambridge very suitably had command of the troops on the parade: he marched the men who were to be decorated until they came within 100 feet of the *dais*, where they stood directly in the presence of the queen. There stood the stricken, mutilated, heroic band of noble heroes and patriots. Her majesty never in any public scene, in which she always performs her part with queen-like dignity and womanly grace, betrayed so much emotion—not only her countenance, but her whole frame indicated the deep and throbbing sensibility of her heart. Never, perhaps, on any public occasion did the multitude manifest so much delicacy and tact, mingled with so much enthusiasm. The people of London have a just celebrity for the intuitive possession of what is fit when assembled in masses, such as no where else is conceived; it was so on the instant when the maimed warriors of England arrived, the word "halt" was given by the Duke of Cambridge, and they stood in the presence of majesty. The whole of the mighty assemblage gave utterance to their feelings—it was not a cheer—it was not a murmur of applause—it was not a buzz of approbation—it was as if an audible throb broke from the heart of queen and people at once, in their common homage to the heroism of the brave. The people felt, too, that they had a sovereign worth battling and bleeding for; and the queen felt that she had a people, loyal alike in weal or woe, affluent alike to her in their treasures and their blood. When the queen entered, it was—as usual on public occasions—amidst the thunder of cannon and the cheers of faithful multitudes, but when she and her wounded braves stood face to face, the suppressed, yet audible, emotion of the people was the most peculiar enunciation of feeling ever perhaps heard from a multitude. The candidates for honour passed in single file to the spot where her majesty stood; each man, as he reached the left side of the *dais*, presented a card to Major-general Wetherall, containing his name and rank, the nature of his wound (if wounded), and the engagement in which it had been sustained; the general read them aloud

for the information of her majesty and her glorious suite. The minister of war handed, in each case, a medal to the queen, who personally bestowed it upon the candidate for the honour. Alas, many of these gallant men wore honours given by the enemy in the scars which scared their manly countenances, or the maimed limbs which rendered them no longer able to tread the field of war. The Duke of Cambridge, and his aide-de-camp, Major McDonald, who so gallantly incurred such imminent peril by the side of his royal highness, were the first to receive the decorations; a flush of pride rose to the countenance of her majesty at the thought that so near a kinsman—one of her own royal race—should be the first among the ranks of the meritorious and the brave, to receive public honour at her hands. The bands played the coronation march from the *Prophète*. Sir De Lacy Evans, Sir J. Burgoyne, the Earl of Cardigan, the Hon. Major-general Scarlett, Major-general Torrens, and other officers of rank, were among the first received by her majesty. Three officers were wheeled up in Bath chairs: Sir Thomas Trowbridge was the first of these, he had lost both his feet at the battle of Inkerman. It is said that the queen was so overcome with feeling that she burst into tears; when the gallant soldier was borne up to her majesty, she leaned over the chair, and not only bestowed the decoration, but announced to Sir Thomas that he was henceforth her aide-de-camp,—a post not only of honour, but of emolument. Captain Sayer of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and Captain Currie of the 19th foot, were the other two officers thus drawn in a carriage. The Highlanders attracted much interest on the part of the spectators, as they marched up, or hobbled up, for many were so wounded and maimed that they could not be said to march; the band struck up “The blue bells of Scotland,” and “Whar hae ye bin a’ day.”

The queen generally made some kind remark to each soldier as he passed. The sailors and marines followed in like manner, and the astonishment of the tars when her majesty said some kind word to them was very ludicrous; Jack seemed entirely unable to know what to make of his position, he looked in almost every case as if he did not know where he was; and, despite the seriousness of the occasion, and the sympathy which filled the royal breast, her majesty must have been amused by Jack’s “dum-founded” expression and bearing. There was, however, no mistaking his proud look, as he “bore away” after receiving the distinction he had well deserved. Many officers and men crept slowly along the line of procession by the aid of a stick, or the assistance of a comrade, and

some could only approach her majesty on crutches. The compassion, as well as the exultation, of queen and people was deeply increased. After some military movements the bands struck up the national anthem, and the magnificent and touching scene closed.

The non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, and marines, and the petty officers and men of the navy, were marched to the queen’s riding-school in Piccadilly, where an excellent dinner was laid out for them; her majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the royal consort visited them during their banquet.

Many of the gallant sufferers became the subjects of individual generosity, and all were the objects of national admiration and gratitude. “After all,” said one poor fellow, as he limped homeward after the day, “our country has not forsaken us.”

The events which we have described received extensive publicity in France and Italy, and other parts of the Continent, and everywhere the good taste and well-timed manifestation of public sympathy with the shattered heroes of the Crimea were applauded.

During the interval from the mutual termination of the labours of the Vienna conference to midsummer, reinforcements were sent to the Crimea from both England and France. The latter country was much agitated during a portion of that time by discussions connected with the emperor’s expressed intention of proceeding to the seat of war, or upon some separate expedition. The failure of the second bombardment caused much despondency in France, where the war had not been taken up with the public spirit which attended it in England. The heavy losses of the French troops in the fierce and frequent encounters for the Russian rifle-pits, and from the numerous sorties of the besieged, also created dissatisfaction and doubts of success; and when on the 18th of May the resignation of General Canrobert as commander-in-chief of the army was announced to the French people, they were still more concerned for the fortunes of the war, and still less sanguine of success. Had Russia offered any moderate terms of peace, France would have hailed the opportunity to terminate a war which was felt to be burdensome, and had not yet brought all that glory so necessary to sustain our ally in great enterprises. There was also a feeling of disappointment created both in France and England by the want of success in the Baltic, and a second year of maritime failure in that quarter was foreboded.

Thus chequered and disturbed were the home events which followed the rejection of the Russian overtures at Vienna. We once more turn to the scenes of actual conflict.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE NAVAL CAMPAIGN IN THE BALTIC TO THE END OF JUNE, 1855.—DISCUSSIONS AS TO THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET.—NEGLECT OF THE ADMIRALTY TO PREPARE GUN-BOATS.—PREPARATIONS OF RUSSIA ON HER BALTIC COASTS.—FURTIVE VIOLATION BY PRUSSIA OF HER NEUTRALITY.—CRONSTADT IMPREGNABLE WITHOUT GUN-BOATS.—HANGO MASSACRE.—DESTRUCTION OF A FLEET OF RUSSIAN COASTERS.

“I cannot discover the policy of not hitting one’s enemy as hard as one can, and in the most vulnerable place. I am certain that he would not act so by us if he had the opportunity.”—THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

At the close of the Baltic campaign of 1854 the country expected that the Admiralty and its pretentious first lord would make such exertions for the next campaign in those waters as would demonstrate the invincible power of England upon the sea. Two things had been learned from the experience of the previous season; namely, that the fleet should, if possible, consist of screw-steamers rather than paddle-wheels, and that it should be attended by a large number of small craft capable of navigating shallow waters, and comprising gun-boats suited to the creeks and sinuosities of the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. Accordingly, much was heard through the winter of the wonderful preparations made by England to send out an equipment in every way fit for the great objects proposed. The fleet was certainly superior to that of the expedition of 1854; but it was deficient, after all, in the kind of armament most required. The following are correct lists of the ships and their armaments, as compared with those of 1854. The latter have been already given; but, as various alterations occurred after that fleet actually set sail, a comparative view of both fleets here, drawn from the most accurate sources attainable, will be desirable and useful to the reader.

BALTIC FLEET, 1854.
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR C. NAPIER.

	Guns.
Wellington	screw 131
Royal George	120
St. George	120
Neptune	120
St. Jean d’Acre	screw 101
Princess Royal	91
James Watt	91
Cæsar	91
Nile	91
Prince Regent	90
Monarch	84
Majestic	screw 81
Cressy	81
Cumberland	70
Boscawen	70
Blenheim	screw 60
Hogue	60
Edinburgh	60
Ajax	60

FRIGATES, &c.

	Guns.		Guns.
Imperieuse	51	Odin	16
Euryalus	51	Magicienne	16
Arrogant	47	Valorous	16
Amphion	34	Penelope	16
Dauntless	33	Cruiser	14
Tribune	30	Archer	14
Leopard	18		
		Total	255

STEAMERS OF AND UNDER EIGHT GUNS.

	Guns.		Guns.
Desperate	8	Rosamond	6
Conflict	8	Gladiator	6
Dragon	6	Prometheus	5
Bulldog	6	Janus	4
Vulture	6	Alban	4
Basilisk	6	Lightning	3
Driver	6		
Gorgon	6	Total	89

TOTAL FORCE OF BALTIC FLEET, 1854.

	Guns.	Men.	Horse power.
19 Liners	1672		
13 Frigates, &c.	356		
14 Steamers of and under 8 guns	80		
46	Total	2108	21,200 16,003

The following, under Commodore, afterwards Admiral, Goy, with lower deck guns out, conveyed French troops to the Åland Isles, and were present at the destruction of Bomarsund; or, at all events, were in the Baltic at that time:—

	Guns.
Royal William	120
St. Vincent	120
Hannibal*	screw 91
Algiers*	91

FRENCH BALTIC FLEET, 1854.

	Guns.		Guns.
Austerlitz	100	Trident	80
L’Hercule	100	Duperré	80
Jemmapes	100	Andromaque	60
Tage	100	Poursuivante	52
L’Indeflexible	90	Zenobie	52
Duguesclin	90	Virginie	50
Breslau	90		
		Total	1044

* These proceeded afterwards to the Black Sea.

BALTIC FLEET, 1855.
REAR-ADMIRAL SIR R. S. DUNDAS.

	Guns.
Wellington.....	screw 131
Royal George.....	..... 102 *
Exmouth.....	..... 91
James Watt.....	..... 91
Orion.....	..... 91
Cæsar.....	..... 91
Nile.....	..... 91
Calcutta.....	sailer 84
Majestic.....	screw 81
Crossy.....	..... 81
Colossus.....	..... 81
Blenheim.....	..... 60
Hogue.....	..... 60
Ajax.....	..... 60
Edinburgh.....	..... 60
Russell.....	..... 60
Hawke.....	..... 60
Cornwallis.....	..... 60
Pembroke.....	..... 60
Hastings.....	..... 60
	1555

FRIGATES, &c.

	Guns.		Guns.
Imperieuse.....	51	Cossack.....	21
Euryalus.....	51	Falcon.....	17
Arrogant.....	47	Harrier.....	17
Amphion.....	34	Cruiser.....	14
Retribution.....	22	Archer.....	14
Tartar.....	21	Magicienne.....	16
Pylades.....	21		
Esk.....	21	Total.....	367
Twelve steamers of and under eight guns..... 76			

TOTAL FORCE OF BALTIC FLEET, 1855.

	Guns.
20 Liners.....	1555
14 Frigates, &c.....	367
12 Steamers of and under 8 guns.....	76
21 Steam gun-boats.....	57
15 Mortar-boats.....	15
Total.....	2070

FRENCH BALTIC FLEET, 1855

	Guns.		Guns.
Austerlitz.....	100	Angle.....	8
Duquesne.....	50	Tonnerre.....	6
Tonrville.....	90	Pelican.....	5
Isis.....	36	Seven gun-boats of	
Galashée.....	36	three guns each....	21
D'Assis.....	16	Total.....	408

Several writers have affirmed that the French did nothing in the Baltic in 1855. The above correct statement confutes that assertion. The British Baltic force was, however, vastly superior. Great importance was attached to the selection of a commander for the fleet of 1855; and the appointment of Admiral Dundas, and the setting aside of Sir C. Napier led to public discontent, and to discussions which created the conviction that the war revealed what in peace we had never found out, and probably never cared to find out—the thorough rottenness of our great official departments, civil and military. The letter of Sir Charles Napier, then going the round of the papers, exemplified this in a very forcible way. Sir

Charles was sent out with a fleet well adapted to clear the Baltic of the Russian navy, and to keep them shut up behind the granite defences of Sweaborg and Cronstadt. If that navy had encountered Sir Charles, it would have been sunk or captured. As long as our Baltic fleet could remain upon the station, not a Russian ship of war would venture out for any purpose. The object of sending out that fleet was not, however, simply for the purpose of a blockade; it was expected that Sweaborg and Cronstadt would be stormed, especially when the success of the allied forces at Bomarsund was so signal. As these objects were not answered, the dissatisfaction of the British public was great; and one of the most fertile sources of the unpopularity of the Aberdeen ministry was the do-nothing policy of the Baltic expedition. Sir James Graham, as first lord of the Admiralty, had the direction of the whole, and the responsibility rested mainly upon him, or upon the admiral he entrusted with the conduct of the expedition. No one could blame Sir James for his selection of a commander—Sir Charles had the heart of the nation with him. Either, then, the admiral disappointed public expectation, or Sir James thwarted, for some purpose or other, the gallant chief of as gallant a fleet as ever sailed the sea. Which? We never for a moment doubted that the trick and intrigue of the head of the Admiralty were the cause of the failure. It appeared that the admiral gave it as his opinion that, with a fleet of gun-boats, he could destroy the batteries of Sweaborg without troops, and that, with a certain degree of military aid, he could destroy Cronstadt; but that to such a fleet as he had—a fleet of large ships—both fortresses were impregnable. Sir Charles declared that he was baffled by the Admiralty and the government at home; and he brought against them, especially against Sir James Graham, the most grave and heavy charges. Everything that a government could do to render the Baltic expedition abortive was done. First, the admiral was allowed to undertake nothing that would risk the fleet without referring to the home authorities; yet he was told to attack Russia upon every vulnerable point. He accordingly informed the Admiralty that he could with his fleet destroy Sweaborg if there were no Russian fleet ready to pounce upon his after it had incurred damage and loss by the attack. But that, as the Russian fleet at Helsingfors and Cronstadt would certainly sally out and destroy his shattered squadrons after he had broken up Sweaborg, he must not make the attempt; but that if the Admiralty supplied him with gun and mortar-boats, and with Lancaster guns, he could accomplish the destruction of the island batteries at Sweaborg, and preserve

* Altered from 120 in winter 1854—55.

his ships in readiness to encounter the Russian fleet should it venture forth. The Admiralty afforded him none of these appliances, which were, in a small degree, placed at Admiral Dundas's disposal, that he might be enabled to accomplish what Sir Charles had failed to do. After all the generals of engineers and artillery, and the admirals, had pronounced opinions more or less in accordance with Admiral Napier's, he was urged by Sir James to attack the Russian batteries. If the object of the government was to destroy the English fleet and save Russia, this is intelligible; but to Sir Charles, or his officers, or the public, no way else. Admiral Chads, one of the first professors of naval gunnery in the world, expressed his accord with the opinions and policy of Sir Charles. Our readers will say, perhaps, "Well, if Sweaborg and Cronstadt could not be battered down with the means at his disposal, why did not Sir Charles attack Riga and other small places on the coast, and why did he not make the blockade effectual?" Here Sir Charles pleaded that he was placed under two different directions—the Foreign-office and the Admiralty; the latter commanding him to obey the former, and yet still issuing orders at variance totally with the orders of the new authority; so that the despatches of Sir James Graham and Lord Clarendon could not by any possibility be both obeyed. If the object of the Aberdeen government was to protect Russia from any serious annoyance by the fleet so ostentatiously sent out, this game of cross-purposes between the first lord and the foreign minister is rational enough. It was a sure way of keeping the fleet knocking about, and of, perhaps, ruining the liberal and patriotic commander. On any other supposition, this handing over the admiral from one office to the other was altogether inexplicable. Lord Clarendon had properly nothing to do with the matter; but if two offices were concerned, their chiefs might easily escape responsibility on the plea of misapprehension. Finally, the French admiral, stung with a sense of insult, and disgusted with the whole proceedings of the English Admiralty, prematurely withdrew his fleet, and left Sir Charles to himself. Upon his return he was deprived of his command, the government denying and prevaricating on the subject, until at last it was plain that the truth-speaking admiral was put aside. Sir Charles demanded the publication of his despatches; Sir James resisted on the ground of danger to the public service, and Sir Charles bore with impatience Sir James's false statements. At last Sweaborg was attacked in 1855; not with adequate resources, indeed, for these were not at Admiral Dundas's disposal, but with such means as enabled him to

burn and destroy vast accumulations of material of war, by the very means which Sir Charles had pointed out fourteen months before as necessary,—this very Admiral Dundas being one of Sir James Graham's confederates as a lord of the Admiralty, in sending out Sir Charles without a proper equipment for the service, and keeping him without it, notwithstanding his remonstrances. This very Admiral Dundas refused to go out without such aids as Sir Charles was promised and never received; yet he was Sir James Graham's backer in dismissing Sir Charles from an honourable post, that he might obtain it himself. He adopted Sir Charles Napier's plans, after having dismissed that officer for not carrying out his (Admiral Dundas's) own, which were impracticable. The collusion and treachery all through is revolting to every honourable mind. To "cap the whole," Sir James, according to Sir Charles Napier's allegation, falsified his despatches. When we couple all this with the promotion of Sir James Graham's son over the heads of his seniors and superiors by Sir Edmund Lyons, we have a picture of Admiralty mismanagement, injustice, and perfidy, which no honourable, intelligent, and free people would endure. The whole history of the Aberdeen government was one of infamy, and the administration of both our navy and army was corrupt to the core.

The discussions as to the conduct and competency of Admiral Napier, which arose in 1855, are too voluminous to transfer to these pages. When the Palmerston government was responsible for the Baltic fleet of 1855, they continued the appointments previously determined upon by the Aberdeen government. This could not well be otherwise, as Sir James Graham remained at the head of the Admiralty until the secession of the Peelites. After that event everything in this matter remained unchanged, and Admiral Dundas took out the fleet to its destination. Lord Palmerston found an occasion, however, to pronounce his opinion of Sir Charles Napier, when Mr. Malins introduced the whole question of the command of the fleet to the discussion of the House of Commons. The judgment then pronounced by the head of the cabinet was such as will give the reader a fair opportunity of judging between Sir Charles Napier and his censurers:—"I have had the pleasure and honour of a long acquaintance with the gallant admiral, Sir Charles Napier, who is the subject of this discussion, and, admiring as I do his professional and personal character, it would have been matter of very great and deep regret to me if he stood in the position of a man who had been censured and dismissed for conduct pursued in an important command. I think it has been

clearly established to the house that he has neither been censured nor dismissed. The honourable and learned gentleman quoted opinions expressed by me in a different room from this of the professional merits and distinguished qualities of my gallant friend, for so I must call him. I retract none of those opinions. I am proud to say that I think the courage, the gallantry, the professional skill and ability of my gallant friend stand as highly now as they did at the moment when I made those observations. It has been my fortune on a former occasion to profit, in the official capacity in which I was acting, by the invaluable services of Sir C. Napier. He rendered the most important service to the country by the able and distinguished manner in which he performed his duty on that occasion, and it is only due to him to say that, in my opinion, nothing has occurred in the course of the last year which in the slightest degree diminishes the high character which he has attained in the service of his country. Sir C. Napier rendered important service in the command of the Baltic fleet. He showed the greatest skill in conducting that fleet through the most intricate and dangerous navigation. He brought back a magnificent fleet without any injury, under circumstances in which a man of less skill and less judgment might have sustained serious and great disasters, and he secured the country against all those evils which might have arisen if the Baltic fleet of Russia had been permitted, either wholly or in part, to quit its ports and scour the sea. Sir, I shall only repeat, that the motion which is now made is one which the house ought by no means to agree to; but I wish it to be distinctly understood that, in negating that motion, I do not consider myself in the slightest degree, either directly or indirectly, concurring in the least impeachment of the character of Sir C. Napier. On the contrary, I think that his character stands as high as it ever did, and that my honourable and gallant friend will rank for ever among the most distinguished ornaments of the naval profession."

Such a eulogy, from such a man, ought to have been sufficient to soothe the wounded feelings of Sir C. Napier, by whomsoever aspersed.

The objects which this mighty armament was expected to accomplish were very different among different classes. A large portion of the public exulted in the anticipation of the speedy destruction of Sweaborg and Cronstadt. Those who were better acquainted with its adaptations, mourned over the neglect which left the country unprotected with gun-boats and floating mortar batteries. Sir J. Graham had warning enough, but he did not take it. The bomb-boats which accompanied the fleet were in some cases imperfectly constructed,

and the iron floating mortar-batteries were not in a state fit for service; they proved a wretched failure, sharing the fate of most specimens of naval architecture under the system of favouritism and jobbing which prevailed at the Admiralty and in "the yards." Sir James seemed to have been very much afraid of hitting the enemy too hard; the motto of this chapter did not convey to him any useful maxim or suggestion. The "hit-hard" system of the Great Duke had gone out of fashion under the influence of Peelite quackery. A considerable number of politicians were of opinion that the most that could be hoped for from the Baltic fleet was a blockade, that no more ships should be sent out than would render such blockade effectual, the true policy of the government being to bend all the energies of the nation upon the war in the Black Sea.

In Russia every exertion had been made to meet the stupendous power which it was apprehended the allies would put forth in the Baltic in 1855. The uttermost industry was used all the winter in providing and applying naval and military resources, so that the allied fleets might meet a warm reception whenever they came. The efforts of the enemy were chiefly directed to the chief fortresses, which they spared no expense to make as strong as possible. General Von Berg was appointed governor-general at Helsingfors, the Emperor Nicholas having much trust in his energy and resources. Early in February eleven large mortars arrived there, of ten to twelve inches in diameter in the bore, and capable of throwing shells of 1 cwt. Thirteen horses were required to draw these monster mortars, which were the objects of much curiosity, the people travelling from great distances to see them. Between Helsingfors and Abo large bodies of troops were placed; the cavalry were numerous and well mounted; they were so distributed, as to be able to throw themselves with rapidity upon any point where the allies might attempt a landing. From the end of February, until the fleets appeared off the coasts, detachments of Bashkirs arrived continually, these were to be employed as "advance corps" on the two shores of Finland. At Revel and Riga very strong parties of irregular cavalry arrived from the extreme east of the empire early in March. The general of artillery, Yermaloff, was dispatched by the Emperor Alexander, soon after his accession, with extraordinary powers to inspect these coasts. A regiment of hussars, 1200 strong, commanded by Gottschalk, arrived at Mittau, and extended its pickets as far as Tauroggen. Between that and Libau a regiment of regular Cossacks, 900 strong, was posted in detachments. General Grekoff, with a large staff, took up his station at Libau, where he was continually reinforced by the arrival of

small detachments of Cossacks. General Siewers personally saw that Libau was put in a suitable state of defence, and showed vigour and activity throughout his command, inspiring the inferior generals with his animation. Two regiments of infantry took post in Mittau at the end of March. Five regiments of infantry, and (what the Russians call) a brigade of artillery, under General Siewers, early in the month garrisoned Norva, Riga, and Revel. The *Hamburgh correspondent of the Independence Belge*, under date of the 24th of March, thus wrote:—"When I announced to you, in November last, that the Emperor of Russia had decreed the formation of an army of 100,000 men on the coast of the Baltic, I informed you that General Siewers, commander of the first army-corps in Poland, had been instructed by the emperor to organise that army, of which he was to assume the chief command. This general, who established his head-quarters at Mittau, has displayed so much activity that, towards the middle of January, he had already succeeded in uniting under his orders 62,000 men. The troops destined to complete this army are to be drawn from the different depots of the reserve battalions, and are now *en route* from the interior to join their respective corps. To-day I have heard from Riga that the authorities have been ordered to prepare quarters for a division of 20,000 men, who are to garrison the city, and for a second corps of the same force, which is to remain in the neighbouring districts. A similar order has been addressed to the authorities of Revel by General Siewers, who is invested with all the discretionary civil and military powers conferred in Russia on the general-in-chief of an army in the field. An entire division of infantry, consisting of 16,000 men, will be shortly quartered in the barracks, public buildings, and private houses at Revel. The first corps are to arrive in those cities between the 10th and 15th of March. The Baltic army is to be *echeloned* from Cronstadt to Polangen, that is, along the coast of the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. The parks of artillery stationed in 1854 in the environs of Riga and Revel, will receive this year a reinforcement of four mounted batteries."

Lines of telegraphs were formed along the shores of the gulfs, in order to prevent the possibility of surprise anywhere, and so that troops might be precipitated at a moment's notice upon the spot. Their naval preparations equalled their military. Immense supplies of hemp, tar, pitch, resin, rope, sails, spars, planks, and other naval material, were ordered to be supplied at certain points of delivery before the end of March, under a heavy penalty. Contracts were formed with German merchants for various supplies, for which high prices were

given, bargains against time, so that before a certain date in April their supplies should be delivered at the places prescribed. It was supposed that the allies would trust a great deal to gun-boats of a new and formidable construction, and preparations were made to match them. In 1854 there were 250 Russian gun-boats in the Baltic; in 1855 they amounted to 400, each armed with one gun of 68, and four of 32-pounders. Still, with all their efforts, the enemy could only muster ten war steamers, when the English fleet entered his waters, although Cronstadt contained so powerful a force of sailing line-of-battle ships, frigates, brigs, sloops, &c., computed at thirty ships of the line, more than twice as many frigates (such as they were, many not deserving the name), and eight brigs. Early in February the *Invalide Russe* published in detail Admiral Glasenapp's report as to the build and construction of certain "new row gun-boats." They were armed in a peculiar way, to repel attempts at boarding. The *Invalide* thus described them:—"They consist of an iron lance, about seven feet long, and a mace of cast-iron, the massive head of which resembles a pine-apple, and like it is beset with a number of obtuse but pointed projections. Each boat is provided with from thirty to forty lances, and from fifteen to twenty maces, in the management of which the Finns are said to possess great skill." From this description these maces would appear to resemble the *morgerustern*, still in use with the watchmen in Sweden, and with one of which the Marquis of Waterford, some fifteen years back, came inconveniently into close contact.

So alarmed was Russia for the safety of her Baltic provinces, that the press of St. Petersburg contained the most inflammatory appeals to the soldiery quartered there, and to the loyal inhabitants. The *Abeille du Nord* of St. Petersburg published a fanatical appeal to the Russian people to rise in arms for the defence of the orthodox church. It called upon the clergy to exhort their flocks to fight for the good cause, and to impress upon them that the war was the ancient war "of the Prince of Darkness against the kingdom of Christ." It concluded with a prayer to the Almighty to admit those who fall on the field of battle for the good cause at once into the kingdom of Heaven.

On Cronstadt and Sweaborg the Russians expended all the resources of their fanaticism and their power. Every point where the slightest weakness was detected was strengthened; and prayers, masses, benedictions, religious processions, and religious harangues, were employed to consecrate every battery, and almost every gun. Sir Charles Napier did not think Cronstadt impregnable in 1854, if

he had suitable means for attacking it, but when he visited it early in 1856, after the peace, he was of opinion that after his fleet left the Baltic, and before the arrival there of Rear-admiral Dundas, it was made impregnable. On several occasions the gallant admiral recorded this opinion; in a letter to the *Morning Advertiser* he thus wrote:—"If fifty sail of the line, and 50,000 men in steamers, were to attempt an attack, it might just possibly succeed, provided they did not sink ships between Menschikoff and Cronslott, and our ships did not take the ground in going in. It would be necessary for the leading ships to anchor against the batteries. Those following should go in and break the boom. If they succeeded, we should probably overpower the fleet, and the steamers would and the troops on the seawall. If they failed in breaking the boom, there would be great confusion, and there is no knowing what would happen. It would also be necessary to have a strong reserve to take the place of the ships against the batteries, if they failed in silencing them, which is more than probable. If all went on right Cronstadt would be taken; and if all went wrong, the fleet would be lost. No one, I think, except the *Times*, would have tried Cronstadt. They said it was not necessary to see how one was to get out, it was only necessary to get in. I have shown that the north passage is double—I may say triple—holed, and four new batteries built; so that passage is sealed. There are no guns on the north wall; but outside there are redoubts well armed. On the south side, between Risbank and the mainland, there are two new batteries, which render it unsailable, and the passage up towards Peterhoff is holed also. On the ramparts there are about 120 guns, many of them pointing seaward. The carriages are not in good order. Fort Menschikoff is now fitted with platforms like a ship's decks, with 32-pounders, where the seamen are exercised in the winter. It is well ventilated, having no guns on the sides or rear. On the shore, inside Peter the Great, there is a heavy earthen redoubt, which points to the sea. There are redoubts all over the island, and on the western part of it a new fortification is begun, right across, and between it and the town a chain of redoubts. The line wall is of small stones, like Bomarsund, which could be easily knocked down. There is a ditch, but no glacis. I forgot to say that the screw line-of-battle ship has 830 men, excluding engineers and stokers."

Again, in his place as a member of the British parliament, he observed:—"He had seen many strong fortifications in his time—he had seen Toulon from the sea, and from the shore too; he had seen Cadiz; he had not seen Brest, but he had seen Cherburg,—but no

place he had ever yet seen was to be compared with the fortifications of Cronstadt. It was not the forts only that made it so strong,—for if he had had to deal with those stone three-deckers and stone four-deckers, as they might be called, in the open sea, where they could be got at, he should not have hesitated a moment in attacking them,—because ships in general, when well exercised and well disciplined, fired their guns with more celerity and almost as well as forts. It was the danger of going in that made Cronstadt so strong; the passage was very narrow and very shallow."

Whether the means provided by the British Admiralty to meet the case for 1855 had been sufficient, our readers must judge for themselves, by a comparison of such statements with Sir James Graham's defence of himself and the Admiralty, of which he was the first lord. In his speech in the House of Commons, in reply to Sir Charles Napier, he said:—"Neither in the Black Sea nor in the Baltic may we have been so successful as we desired; but in my conscience I can say that, whatever may have been our failures, they have not proceeded from want of exertion on the part of the Board of Admiralty. With respect to preparations, I say distinctly that, if we had received the honourable and gallant officer's report of what was necessary, in his opinion, for the attack of Sweaborg by naval means only in the beginning of June, it was quite in the power of the Admiralty to have sent out such a quantity of mortars as would either have sufficed to plant on the islands occupied in the attack in 1855, or, placed in mortar-vessels, would have aided the operations of the fleet in the manner recommended by the honourable and gallant officer, before even in his view the season would have prevented the attack. Be that as it may, however, was I negligent in the intervening time? In concert with my colleagues, I prepared, in the autumn of 1854, to be ready to sail with the fleet in the spring of 1855, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating batteries, all built and ready for sea in April, 1855. By an agreement with the French government, an equal force of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating-batteries, had been prepared and built by France; and, in addition to four screw line-of-battle ships, commonly called block-ships, we fitted five other line-of-battle ships with high-pressure engines; so that there were ready for attack in the Baltic in the spring of 1855—nine sail of the line, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating-batteries; this number of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating-batteries being doubled by the arrangement made with France."

The statement of Sir James Graham as to

the gun-boats provided for the fleet was indirectly met by a letter from Sir Charles to the editor of the *Times* :—

“ Sir,—If your ‘Special Correspondent’ had taken the trouble to examine the chart of Cronstadt, which a sensible and honest man ought to have done, before he attacked me, he would have seen that the north of Cronstadt could only be approached by gun and mortar-boats with a light draught of water, not one of which I had; he would also have seen that the passage to the north (which was never navigable for large ships) was protected by a barrier supported by eight or ten block-ships, upwards of one hundred gun-boats, several steamers, and the boats of twenty sail of the line.

“ Your ‘Special Correspondent’ says the Russians were perfectly aware that the northern side could be forced, and it was quite possible for a determined enemy to run past the forts, most of which were constructed on arcs of spheres having their *maximum* of amount of guns directed in front, and having only part of their guns available for an enemy passing their right flank.

“ Now, sir, the Russians knew perfectly well that the passage to the north was not practicable, and there were no batteries constructed on arcs of spheres. To the north it was barred, as I have already described, and could only have been attacked by gun and mortar-boats of light draught of water, and this I stated to the Admiralty in 1854, and was complimented on what they were pleased to term my very able report.

“ In 1855, when Admiral Dundas appeared off, they had in the winter of 1854-5 constructed another barrier, outside of the shoal water, to further protect the north; and, though he found a passage through the piles in his gig, he did not venture to attack the north of Cronstadt with the gun-boats he had at his disposal. Why he was not furnished with more the Admiralty can best answer; they had a year for consideration.

“ In 1856, when I was at Cronstadt, they had constructed a third barrier right across, protected by five batteries, which rendered an attack on the north impossible.

“ Had the Admiralty, in the autumn of 1853, well examined the north of Cronstadt, they would have known that gun and mortar-boats were the only means of attacking it with success; and if I could make such a report from a reconnaissance from the sea in 1854, a much better one might have been made from the north wall in 1853.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ C. NAPIER.”

As the full discussion of this subject here will prevent the necessity of encumbering with it the narrative of the operations in the Baltic, we will notice another episode in the controversy. Sir Robert Peel visited St. Petersburg and Cronstadt after the war had terminated; he was then a lord of the Admiralty. On his return he declared that the Grand-duke Constantine informed him that in 1854 Cronstadt was not impregnable, and that if Sir Charles Napier had had the spirit to do so, he might have destroyed it. Sir Charles, with this statement of Sir Robert's in view, made observations at another public meeting in direct contradiction to it, declaring that the grand-duke had given him a precisely opposite opinion :—“ He went to Cronstadt because he was extremely anxious to examine it with his own eyes, to see whether he was right or wrong, and he must confess that the fortifications were much stronger than he believed they were when he was off it. He considered it was entirely impregnable. The Grand-duke Constantine had favoured him with an interview, and showed him the plan of the defences of Cronstadt, and a more judicious and proper plan was never entered into. The Grand-duke Constantine was a man of talent and ability, and was perfectly honest and plain with him. He said that if the British fleet had attempted to go into Cronstadt it would have been destroyed. More than a thousand guns, he said, would have been brought to bear upon the fleet—that there was not water for the large ships—that the channel was narrow, and filled with infernal machines—and that even the Russian ships in passing were in danger of being blown up. He (Sir Charles Napier) then asked the grand-duke why they did not meet them at Kiel, when they were badly manned and disciplined; and the grand-duke held out his hand to him in a frank and sailor-like manner, and said he did not know it until it was too late, and that perhaps it was very lucky he did not meet them. The gallant officer, in conclusion, referred to the necessity of keeping the navy in a state of efficiency, and declared that if they were determined, as Lord Palmerston had said at Manchester, not to bear wrong, they must be prepared to resist it.”

It became important to the allies to conciliate the good-will, and, if possible, secure the alliance of the neutral Baltic powers. Prussia continued to practise rather than an original neutrality,—she allowed through her own territory all contraband of war to reach Russia, yet when a vessel containing some copper, exported to England *from Russia*, and which the Russians themselves allowed to pass, touched at one of her ports, she treated it as contraband of war—dealing more stringently with us than the enemy with whom we did battle, while

showing for that enemy on every occasion a gross partiality. The weakness of the allies towards Frederick William was very unaccountable, unless it was their policy, until Russia was conquered in the Black Sea, not to arm any portion of Germany against the alliance, reserving their opportunity in such case to deal with Prussia more vigorously. But that power had a very large force of *Landwehr*, and, contrary to her usage, a sea force, which was thus described by Mr. Scott Russell, the constructor of the *Nie* and *Salamander*:—"I know as a fact that the navies of certain foreign governments have steam gun-boats, for which no vessel in our navy is at all a match. They have proved themselves perfectly good sea-boats in the open sea. Under steam, in their best trim, they go fifteen statute miles an hour; in their worst, thirteen. Their light draught, fully armed and equipped, is only five feet; their load draught, with coals for 2000 miles, less than seven feet. They carry four long 68's, and four long 32's. They can fire two of the 8-inch guns parallel to the keel at either end, and can bring all the four 8-inch guns over to either side for a broadside. These long 8-inch guns are all mounted on traversing slides, and there is ample room for the stowage of the guns when out of use and in action. I have seen these guns worked with perfect ease and security in so heavy a sea that the water was coming over the weather bow in such quantities, that an experienced officer in the Royal Navy assured me it would have been impossible to work the long guns of a steam-sloop of 1200 tons, then under his command, in similar circumstances, without water pouring down the bore of the gun."

The influence of Prussia upon the other Baltic nations was injurious. Denmark and Sweden, however interested in the war, could not disregard the policy of the German nations, even when the fleets of the two greatest naval powers in the world crowded their waters, offering them alliance, and blockading the harbours of their foe, who was not less their foe, although not waging upon them an immediate war. The Danish king was as little desirous as the Prussian king to quarrel with the czar—despotic sympathies united them all. The Danish king was satisfied if the independence of his gallant little kingdom lasted his time—its crown might grace the head of the Tartar after he passed away; he had neither the patriotism, sincerity of creed, nor personal manliness to make the slightest effort for his country, his church, his people, or his honour. The alliance of Denmark could not be counted upon.

Sweden was full of sympathy for the allies. Her alliance would have been a great accession. Her navy was at this juncture considerable:—Ten sail of the line, six frigates, four schooners,

four brigs, nine steam schooners, seventy-seven gun-boats, one hundred and twenty-two armed boats, six mortar-vessels, twenty-two steam despatch-boats, two royal yachts, twenty-one transports, five hundred and ninety-four armed row-boats. Norwegian fleet:—Two frigates, two schooners, two steam schooners, one brig, forty-three gun-boats, five tugs, with a steam frigate, and a despatch-boat, both of which were being finished on the stocks at Christiania. All the vessels of war were ready to go to sea, but in time of peace they are laid up in ordinary. Only the vessels strictly required by the government are kept on service.

But while the feelings of the Swedes, and, still more, the feelings of the Norwegians were with us, there were grave political considerations to deter these united Scandinavian states from joining the allies. The point of view from which the people regarded the probable consequences to themselves may be seen by a quotation from a paper published at Stockholm, called the *Svenska Tidningen*:—"Now that the sun of spring is beginning to melt our snow, and burst the ice which enchains our seas, the Western powers will assuredly renew their appeals to the Northern states to join their alliance. Will they succeed? Will the King of Sweden and Norway, who by the fundamental laws alone has a right to declare war, break the neutrality he has hitherto maintained? This is a question of immense importance for the future of our country, which our governments must face in the midst of difficulties, dangers, and caprice. The Western powers have already attached Sardinia to their cause; she has sent 15,000 men to the eastern seat of war. The same powers are striving to gain Portugal, which can only offer them a still smaller number of troops. If England and France are seeking such allies, what advantages would they derive from having Sweden and Norway on their side, able to throw very considerable forces on the side of the Baltic? Our assistance would be of especial service to England, when she possesses at this moment no army to send to the Baltic, nor can she form one; and in our flotilla she would find that species of maritime arm so necessary for crippling the Russians. France, too, would have 60,000 men at her disposition, whom, in the event of our non-assistance, she would be compelled to send to the north. Our situation is not that of Sardinia or Portugal, although there is some resemblance between the population and military forces. We are not, like them, at a great distance from the seat of war; we are, not like Sardinia, enclosed between two great protecting powers; nor, like Portugal, situate at the extremity of Europe, under the ægis of an imposing flag. Our situation has more analogy with that of Austria.

Like her, we are close to the great enemy, far from our great allies; we should be the *first*, and probably the *last*, to bear the burden of the war. Austria, who can bring into the field 200,000 men, for whom the present war is a vital question, as her most precious commercial advantages, her religious and political independence are at stake—Austria, who has on her right Turkey for an ally, and on her left France, ready to send a formidable army to her aid through Germany—Austria hesitates about drawing the sword, and is using her utmost exertions to terminate the contest by negotiations; and we, for whom the famous ‘four points’ present scarce any interest—for whom the war has no settled object—are expected to hurl ourselves into it blindly!”

Such was the state of affairs in connection with the theatre of war in the Baltic, when the British fleet, under Rear-admiral Dundas, set sail from the English shores in March and April, 1855. No display was made as in 1854. The fleet departed quietly to its sphere of duty. Captain Watson, commanding the advanced squadron, left England on the 20th of March, and on the 17th of April declared the blockade of the Russian Baltic ports. Before the end of March the captain reached the Kattegat, and then divided his squadron, taking with him a portion of the ships through the Great Belt to Kiel, and ordering Captain Yelverton, with the other portion, through the Sound. The ice in the Baltic was then fixed in some places, and floating in great masses in others. The following letter depicts this:—

Nyborg, March 25.

“Two days ago the Great Belt was passable, but a severe storm from the south-east, which has been blowing ever since this morning at daylight, has brought in large fields of ice, which have completely blocked up the Westerrinne, so that the passage between Knudshoved (Canute’s Head) and the island of Sproe is no longer to be attempted. The bay and port of Kierteninde are free from ice, as well as the whole of the upper part of the Belt, and six boats came across from Seeland yesterday. At Elsinore the Sound is free of ice; but between Vedbek and the island of Hven it is still firm, and at Copenhagen it extends beyond the Trekroner Battery. The Bay of Kiel was partially free of ice, but the prevalent easterly winds have drifted in large masses. The ice in the harbour has not yet broken up. Several colliers from English ports to Elsinore and Wingo Sound, with coals for the Baltic fleet, were seen on the 21st near Gothenburg entangled in the ice. Some ice-boats were sent to their assistance.”

By such circumstances Yelverton was obliged to linger at Landskrona for a considerable time.

The great fleet, commanded by Admirals Dundas, Seymour, and Baynes, with the honourable W. F. Pelham, as captain of the fleet, made ready for sea. On the 9th of April it departed from the Downs. Admiral Dundas reached Kiel on the 17th, and remained during the month in Danish waters. During this time he was the object of much public attention and respect from Danish citizens, and once the king received him. Several prizes, of no great value, were captured by Captains Yelverton and Watson.

On the 3rd of May, Dundas being informed that the ice was now well cleared, left the harbour of Kiel at the head of a large portion of his ships, consisting of thirteen line-of-battle, five frigates, and two gun-boats. The rendezvous was Gothland, whither the advanced squadron had already gone. Several detachments then struck off from the main fleet to Nargen and Revel, the Aland Isles, and Hango. The admiral followed with the fleet to Revel, which he found well prepared to receive him,—bristling with new batteries, well manned, and furnaces ready to enable the batteries to discharge redhot shot. Opposite Revel is Nargen, a pleasant island, which the admiral found abandoned. This spot was chosen as the British head-quarters, for which it was favourably situated, being just within the Gulf of Finland. A squadron was sent to reconnoitre Riga, which was found as well prepared with batteries and troops as Revel. This squadron captured a swarm of small vessels laden with various articles carried in the Baltic coasting-trade. Dundas proceeded to reconnoitre Sweaborg and Cronstadt, both which places were in the condition already described in this chapter. These proceedings consumed the remainder of the month of May.

On the 1st of June Admiral Penaud and the French fleet, or rather squadron, joined Dundas before Cronstadt, and a council of war was convened to determine the question of its pregnability. The admirals landed at Tolbuken Lighthouse, at the west end of Cronstadt Island. From this spot a panoramic view of the island, the channels, and the batteries could be had, and the allied chiefs were utterly astonished at the vast magnitude and power of the defences. They then steamed along the southern coast of the island, reconnoitring the various batteries. It was seen that three line-of-battle ships and two frigates were moored across the harbour, before which was planted enormous piles of timbers, which just appeared upon the surface of the water. The harbour was also defended by a flotilla of gun-boats, not less than 200 in number. Earthworks of enormous magnitude, and constructed with the greatest labour and care, were erected wherever this description of defence was available. Not a point could be traced which the

enemy had left vulnerable to ordinary means of attack. Admirals Seymour and Baynes, in a ship's boat, attempted a close and minute reconnaissance, and were in imminent danger of being captured.

To attempt the breaching of the forts and batteries with large ships was impracticable; the liners could not steam nearer than two miles and a half, and Admiral Dundas had only twenty gun-boats, two of which were of no use: these could effect nothing. All Sir James Graham's tricky eloquence, sustained by the voice of party hacks in the Commons, was here tested. Where was the result of the exertions of the Admiralty after the dispatch of the Baltic fleet in 1854, to the time of the dispatch of that fleet which was provided with twenty gun-boats where 400 was required? England had the material, and could have commanded any amount of skill and labour; but she had not a competent Admiralty. Rear-admiral Dundas was himself one of the lords of that Admiralty, under whose misdirection and deficient zeal his fleet was obliged to sail without the weapons by which alone the stronghold of the enemy was assailable. Sunk *caissons* (infernal machines) at sea, and skilful intrenchments on shore, contributed to the defence of a place strong by nature and bristling with ponderous batteries. A sort of fishing expedition was set afloat to catch the infernal machines; and the tars became so expert at this novel angling, that the machines were caught up without much injury being sustained. From two boats a long rope was held, the boats separating nearly to its length; the rope was then sunk ten or twelve feet by weights, but held suspended by empty casks. These floating buoys showed by their motion as the boats rowed away that a machine was entangled: they served as the corks to the angler's line; the instruments of mischief were then hauled carefully up. These "infernals" were kept floating at a certain distance beneath the water by anchors; they were loaded with powder, and a chemical preparation ignited upon a slight concussion and discharged the powder; the shock and damage to a ship might prove very great: several of the vessels were injured.

After much reconnoitring and many councils of war, the idea of attacking Cronstadt was given up. The fleet was sent out without the means of inflicting injury against the place. Admiral Seymour was dispatched to Narva, which he found protected with earth-works, the batteries well manned, and cavalry, infantry, and field artillery in position to prevent a landing. Seymour, leading the *Blenheim* and *Ecmouth*, with the *Pincher* and *Snag* gun-boats, exchanged fire with the batteries, and sheered off, unable to effect anything.

While these proceedings were taking place,

an affair occurred at Hango, which will ever leave a deep stain on the Russian name and character, although it is to be regretted that the careless conduct of the English afforded the Russians a plausible pretext. Several merchant vessels had been captured by the British steamer *Cossack*. The crews of these vessels were generally Finns, and as that nation showed friendly feelings to the English wherever it had opportunity, the British captain resolved to land the men under a flag of truce. A boat was accordingly dispatched for that purpose, near Hango. A Finnish captain suggested that as there were no Russian troops there, the inhabitants would be found willing to sell provisions; it was arranged to attempt this—a palpable violation of the rights of a flag of truce. In the boats several muskets were stowed away unloaded; but there was a considerable supply of cartridges—another palpable violation of a flag of truce.

The *Cossack* remained beyond cannon-range, but did not exhibit a white flag, which the Russians allege that the laws of war required, if the captain of that ship desired to speak with the shore. The captain alleged that he remained at the ordinary distance required for blockade, and did not suppose that he was bound to hoist a white canvas, as the boat he sent ashore carried a flag of truce. Nothing, in such cases, should be left to chance; and the gallant captain of the *Cossack* was so far to blame. In the boat itself a white handkerchief held on a stick, which was afterwards carried on shore, was the signal of truce very improperly relied upon; and this the Russians afterwards protested that they never saw—a falsehood on their part, and proving that, in their blood-thirstiness, they were willing to take advantage of any neglect or oversight on the part of the British. On the morning of the 5th Captain Fanshawe of the *Cossack* sent in the boat, with twenty-four men, to land the Finnish prisoners. The officer who commanded was Lieutenant Geneste, and Mr. Sullivan, master's assistant, directed the boat. Three stewards also went for the illegal purpose of purchasing provisions. Several intervening islands hid the boat as she rowed for land, so that Captain Fanshawe could not say whether the flag of truce had been properly displayed. When the cutter reached the shore, there was no one visible. The officers landed, holding up the white flag, or white handkerchief, whichever it was. On advancing a short distance, 500 Russians, who had been concealed behind rocks, suddenly rose and fired; Lieutenant Geneste, Mr. Sullivan, and Dr. Easton, were all struck, and fell, it was supposed, dead. The Finnish captain called out that they came under a flag of truce, to which the Russian officer replied in English, that he

would have nothing to do with the d— flag of truce. Some of the English sailors landed to give assistance to their officers, but were, of course, instantly shot down; additional volleys were poured forth from the Russian line, until not a man remained standing, and the boat was riddled with balls above the water-line. The Russians then entered the boat, and bore away whatever it contained. As several of the officers and men were found to be only wounded, they were hand-tied and driven away from the shore.

The cutter not returning, Captain Fanshawe, late in the afternoon, sent the gig in search of it, with another flag of truce, under charge of Lieutenant Field. As the gig neared shore, the cutter was perceived to move towards it in a very helpless manner; and on bearing towards it, one wounded sailor was seen to "skull it" along. When taken into the gig, he exclaimed—"They are all killed!" and fainted. He was borne back to the ship, and, after some time, stated that the Russians had fired upon the party, and afterwards rifled the boat; but, as he lay insensible, did him no further injury. His arm was broken by two musket-balls. This sailor, a man of colour, was intelligent and trustworthy; and it was his conviction that the whole party had perished. He signed the following statement:—"On the cutter, with a flag of truce flying, getting alongside the jetty, or landing-place, near the village of Hango, the officers and liberated prisoners jumped out, and Lieutenant Geneste held up the flag of truce to a number of Russian troops, who had suddenly sprung up from the cover of houses and rocks (about 500, dressed as riflemen, and armed with muskets, swords, and bayonets), and told them what it was they meant, and why they landed. They replied, 'That they did not care a d— for flags of truce there, and would soon show them how the Russians could fight;' or words to that effect. A volley was then fired at the officers and liberated prisoners, and afterwards on the boat, until all were supposed to be killed. The Russians jumped into the boat, and, after throwing several dead bodies overboard, lying on the arms in the bottom of the boat, they found Henry Gliddon, A.B., who was only wounded; they took him out of the boat, and bayoneted him on the wharf. John Brown, lying by his side, and severely wounded, feigned death: he was dragged from one end of the boat to the other, but, luckily, not thrown overboard. They then took the arms, magazine, colours, &c. The officers and liberated prisoners were shot down first. Dr. Easton was the first who fell, then the Finnish captain; the next who took the flag was Lieutenant Geneste, and, waving it, shouted—"A flag of truce!" which had been

previously explained to them before they fired. The Russians spoke English; and the person who led them, from his dress and appearance, seemed to be an officer. The Russians yelled, and fired on the men before they could defend themselves; indeed, there was not an attempt made."

Captain Fanshawe opened fire from the ship at a distance of 600 yards; it was not returned, and, a dense fog falling, he retired to a safe anchorage.

When the affair was thoroughly investigated, it appeared that seven of the crew of the cutter had been killed, and the rest taken prisoners, most of them badly wounded, and that the Russians justified their firing, on the ground that they saw no flag of truce; and then that it being irregularly hoisted, they were not bound to respect it, but had every reason to believe that it was borne to cover surreptitious objects. This was true only so far as the purchase of provisions was concerned; but if true in every respect, the continued fire of 500 men upon twenty-five, and those unarmed, was a cold-blooded and shocking murder. No summons to surrender was given, and all could have been captured without shedding one drop of blood.

Captain Fanshawe reported the occurrence to the admiral, who forwarded that report to the Russian general, De Berg, observing:—"In calling your attention to these facts, I hope I shall not be making a vain appeal to your honour, as an officer, to give me such explanations as you may deem suitable under the actual circumstances; and I am happy to take advantage of this circumstance to afford you the means of defending the character of your flag."

The polite suggestion that De Berg would be obliged to the admiral for the opportunity of clearing the character of his flag, was simple folly: the Russians merely laughed at the refined feelings of the allies, and steadily watched for every opportunity to execute a brutal and cowardly revenge upon the wounded or unarmed. The letter of Admiral Dundas received, however, a prompt reply, and as clear as prompt, from De Berg, who made ingenious use of every act of error and neglect on the part of Captain Fanshawe, connected with the dispatch of the cutter to the shore:—

Helsingfors, June 5 (17th).

"MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL.—Before replying to the letter of your excellency of the 3rd (15th) of June, I must observe with regret that the vessels of the English fleet hoist Russian colours the more easily to capture any Russian vessel they come across. The journals have sufficiently made known how, from the commencement of the war, the flag of truce has been abused in every sea to take soundings

and to make military observations. The hostility displayed against inoffensive towns and villages, inhabited by peaceful populations, has been but too well proved by all that has taken place in the Baltic. On the 14th (26th) of May a cutter—I do not know from which ship—landed with a little white flag near the village of Twermine. Not finding any troops stationed near the village, the crew of the cutter wantonly set fire to some huts and boats, despite the white flag. On the 26th of May (5th of June) another cutter, belonging to the corvette *Cossack*, made for the Hango coast. This boat had the British flag flying. The officer in command of her pretends to have hoisted a little white flag in her prow on a stick. Neither the men on duty at the telegraph on the neighbouring heights, nor the military post on the coast, perceived this pretended white flag. It was, consequently, quite natural that they should attack the cutter and its crew as soon as the latter landed. Lieutenant Louis Geneste pretends that a servant carried by his side a stick with the white flag on it. The soldiers and officers of our advanced posts, questioned as to the existence of this flag, affirm that they never saw it at all. M. Geneste pretends that he was sent with a flag of truce to give up some of the crew of merchantmen captured during that fortnight. If such had been his intention, it would have been a much simpler plan, as the *Cossack* came from the neighbourhood of Cronstadt, to have sent them to Sweaborg, or to have landed them on some island, from which they could easily have reached the coast. The captain of the *Cossack* ought to know that the bearer of a flag of truce cannot, and ought not, to be received upon the first landing-place, promontory, or rock, it may suit him to select. My outposts see, and will continue to see, in such missions only military reconnaissances, which use similar pretexts to make explorations and secure provisions. The hostile, and by no means truce-like character of this mission is, moreover, proved:—1st. By the loaded arms seized. Three muskets show, by their exploded caps, that the crew of the boat made use of them in the struggle. 2nd. By the care shown in providing the cutter with 360 cartridges, and a chest full of incendiary articles, which is actually in our possession.

“On the following day the *Cossack* kept up a heavy fire, during an hour, against the village of Hango and its peaceful inhabitants; and a few days later, the 1st (13th) of June, the attack was repeated, to set fire to the telegraph and to destroy some houses, instead of going to Sweaborg to demand explanations. Despite the superiority which steam and screws give to your vessels, they do not cease to hoist the Russian flag to seize our coasting-vessels.

In the same manner, some yards of white canvas have evidently been turned to account to take soundings and make explorations.

“I am willing to believe, M. l'Amiral, that this is done without your knowledge. Allow me to express the hope that you will in future prohibit the missions of such pretended flags of truce. The crew of Lieutenant Geneste's boat were caught in their own trap. Seven men were killed, four wounded, and the remainder made prisoners, as the list I enclose will inform you. The affair only lasted a moment. It was impossible to distinguish the English from the prisoner sailors they brought with them. One of them, Lundstrom, who spoke English, was the first man killed, and two others were wounded. The responsibility of the whole affair rests with the irregularity with which missions of this sort are made. It appears to me that it would be more suitable to make communications to Sweaborg, and entrust them to some vessel sent there, in the same manner as you sent your letter of the 3rd (15th) of June. The *Cossack* should not have deviated from the rule. Vessels wishing to enter into parley should hoist a white flag of large dimensions, and anchor beyond long range, and await a boat to receive their message in writing. We will never receive any other. The *Cossack* did nothing of the sort. It seems to me that the honour of your flag ought to exact the most strict and scrupulous observance of the rules established on such occasions. The honour of my flag will never permit me to depart from them.

“I can assure you that the wounded are well taken care of, and the prisoners well treated.

“I have the honour to be,

“Monsieur l'Amiral,

“Your very obedient servant,

“DE BERG,

“*Aide-de-camp-general of his majesty.*”

On the 29th of June a Russian war-steamer, bearing a flag of truce, rode out from Cronstadt to the allied fleet. An officer delivered to Admiral Dundas a message from Prince Basile Dolgorouki, minister of war, giving notice that in future flags of truce would only be received at Cronstadt, Sweaborg, and Revel, and refusing to receive any flags of truce unless a Russian boat first went out to receive the message in writing, the delivery of which the flag of truce was intended to cover. The British admiral remonstrated, reminding the minister of war that cases might arise requiring more immediate attention than such regulations would allow. The remonstrances of the admiral produced the desired effect upon the minister, who appointed as additional places Libau, Windau, Wasa, and Tornea, which

much modified the severity of the proposed rule: that severity would have been principally detrimental to the Russians themselves. Admiral Dundas also demanded the liberation of the prisoners, which Dolgorouki refused, professing to treat the action of Lieutenant Geneste as a stratagem of war. Against this view the admiral afterwards urged the account which Lieutenant Geneste himself gave of the transaction, which was as follows:—

Helsingfors, July 8, 1855.

"SIR,—In obedience to your orders, on Monday, the 5th of June, I proceeded to the landing-place at Hango Head, in the cutter, carrying a flag of truce, in order to land Russian prisoners, and communicate with the officer at the telegraph station. We arrived at the pier, and no person being visible on shore except two or three women standing near the houses, I landed the Russian prisoners, and, in company with them and Dr. Easton, proceeded towards the house to communicate with the people and with the officer of the telegraph. The three stewards also accompanied us, in order, if possible, to purchase fresh provisions; but all the boat's crew were left in the boat, with strict orders not to land, as you had directed. We also carried with us a white flag of truce on a boarding-pike, Lorton, the midshipmen's steward, carrying it beside me. We had only proceeded about fifty yards from the boat, when suddenly Russian soldiers (who had lain concealed behind the rocks and houses, and of whose vicinity we were completely ignorant) rose and fired on us and the boat from all sides. Taking the white flag from the steward Lorton, who was shot down by my side, I endeavoured, with it in my hand, to prevent the soldiers firing at the boat, and so called the attention of their officer, who came near me, to it. However, I regret to state that the firing did not cease until many of our people had been hit. As we were completely surrounded by soldiers, it was impossible to effect our escape, the soldiers being within a few yards of the boat on every side; and seeing the inutility of making any resistance, not having a loaded musket in the boat, and the greater number of our small boat's crew of eleven men being killed and wounded by the fire of the enemy, not a shot was fired on our side. We were all seized by the soldiers, taken to the houses, and, without a moment's delay, placed in carriages, which appeared to me to be ready for us, and transported to Eckness, where we arrived the same afternoon. I regret to have to state that we have lost six of our men killed, and four have been wounded badly, nearly all the others having slight scratches. Our Finnish captain was also killed, and two Russian

captains wounded. The wounded men were carried to Eckness, and placed in hospital there. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded. The fate of several of the killed I know only by the Russian report, as we were hurried away too quickly from the scene of action to ascertain it for ourselves; but I fear the report is too true, as we have six men missing, and they report seven dead bodies at Hango Head, which would be correct with our six men and the old Finnish captain, whom we saw shot down and bayoneted. We remained at Eckness during Tuesday, and on Wednesday Mr. Sullivan, myself, and the four unwounded men, were removed to this place, leaving the four wounded men at Eckness, with Dr. Easton to attend them. The wounded men were all doing well when we left Eckness. One of them, Gliddon, had to undergo amputation of his right arm, near the shoulder, which had been successfully performed. Since our arrival at Eckness we have received every attention and kindness from the Russian general and officers that our position would admit of. The wounded men have been treated with the greatest care and consideration. I requested General Möller, the officer commanding at Eckness, to send a boat on the day following this unfortunate affair with a flag of truce, to inform you what had happened; but he declared it to be impossible. I do not know how this letter will reach you, but the general will forward it by the first opportunity. As we were taken prisoners under a flag of truce, I presume we shall be shortly released; but am at present in perfect ignorance of their intentions with respect to us. I send this letter open and unsealed.

"I am, &c.,

"LOUIS GENESTE, *Lieutenant.*"

"Captain Fanshawe, H.M.S. Cossack."

Admiral Dundas, in his correspondence with Dolgorouki, commented upon the fact of carts having been at hand to convey away the prisoners, proving that the boat had been seen to approach, and that the enemy had determined to disregard the flag of truce. The correspondence was finally terminated by Prince Dolgorouki declining further discussion upon the subject, insisting that all the evidence went to prove that Lieutenant Geneste landed without waiting for his flag to be legally recognised and admitted. Of this there could be no doubt. Lieutenant Geneste had no right to land on the enemy's territory under a flag of truce before the enemy chose to reply to it and recognise it. That constitutes no excuse for the cowardly waylaying and revengeful slaughter of a few men, who could as easily have been captured as slain. Captain Fanshawe and his lieutenant acted illegally and carelessly—the

Russians barbarously and cowardly, and altogether in a way only to be expected from savages. Even the cultivated Russ were little better than their Bashkir and Cossack slaves. "Scrape a Russian, and the Cossack is visible," was the *bon mot* of a French traveller, epigrammatically expressing the essential barbarism, under a superficial civilisation, of the Russian people. It was in keeping with this estimate of them that the press of St. Petersburg justified the cold-blooded atrocity of Hango. The *Invalide Russe* rejoiced over the foul deed, congratulating its readers that the enemies of holy Russia were thus treated. Captain Hall, a brave and enterprising sailor, subsequently indicted a most retributive humiliation upon the Russians for this massacre. The incident is thus related by an officer:—"I have to tell an anecdote relating to Captain Hall, who has been hovering about Hango for some time, in hopes of having revenge for the massacre of the *Cossack's* men. After harassing in every way in his power the Cossacks stationed in the neighbourhood, he one morning landed all his marines, who at once formed a *cordon* round the village of Hango, placed the gun-boats close in shore, and, with a party of blue-jackets, carrying a flagstaff with an ensign half-mast on it, the band playing the *Dead March in Saul* in front of them, marched up to the place where two of the boat's crew and the Finnish captain who was to have been released were buried. On arriving at the graves, the chaplain of the ship read the funeral service. After that was over, a tablet, which had been neatly carved on board the *Blenheim*, was placed, by way of a tombstone, over the spot, with the following inscription:—'Sacred to the memory of the boat's crew of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Cossack*, and a Finnish master of a merchant vessel, who were barbarously murdered by Russian troops, under the command of an officer, when under the protection of a flag of truce; and to that of the wife of the above-named Finnish master, who died of grief at Helsingfors, when she heard of her husband's death and her country's dishonour.' Having done this, the whole party re-embarked."

On the 20th of June the allied fleet returned to Cronstadt, after a brief, desultory, and useless cruise. When about three miles west of Tolbukén Lighthouse it divided, one division continuing its course along the north side of the island, until it anchored within five miles of the town of Cronstadt, where it was in sight of the domes and spires of St. Petersburg, which glistened beneath the summer sun; the other division remained in reserve between the lighthouse and the opposite coast.

Admiral Seymour and various other officers had a narrow escape of life from an infernal

machine. In examining one of them on the poop of the *Exmouth*, he tapped rather smartly a small projecting piece of iron, remarking, "This must be the way they are exploded;" the machine immediately burst, knocking down every person that was near, and severely injuring several. Admiral Seymour's face was burned, and his eyes so injured that the loss of sight was for a time apprehended. Lieutenant Lewis was struck by a fragment on the knee, and his hands and arms were burned severely; the signal man, who held the machine in his hands, was frightfully burned. The following description of these machines, from a gentleman present when the fleet was before Cronstadt, will interest the reader:—"Each machine consists of a cone of galvanised iron, sixteen inches in diameter at the base, and twenty inches from base to apex, and is divided into three chambers; the one near the base being largest, and containing air, causes it to float with the base uppermost. In the centre of this chamber is another, which holds a tube with a fuse in it, and an apparatus for firing it. This consists of two little iron rods, which move in guides, and are kept projected over the side of the base by springs, which press them outwards. When anything pushes either of these rods inwards, it strikes against a lever, which moves like a pendulum in the fuse tube, and the lower end of the lever breaks or bends a small leaden tube containing a combustible compound, which is set on fire by coming in contact with some sulphuric acid held in a capillary tube which is broken at the same time, and so fires the fuse, which communicates with the powder—about nine or ten pounds—contained in the chamber at the apex of the cone. At the extreme apex is a brass ring, to which is attached a rope and some pieces of granite, which moors them about nine or ten feet below the surface, so that the only vessels they could hurt (the gun-boats) float quietly over them; and now we know what they are, they have been disarmed of all their dread."

The cruise of the *Harrier*, Captain Story, was very successful. On the 23rd of June the gallant captain discovered a number of the enemy's coasters of various tonnage under that of 700. These ships were lying at Taocha, near enough to the town of Nystad to be, in the opinion of their captains, secure. Several of them were that night destroyed, and one, a fine barque of 450 tons, carried off as a prize. The next day Captain Story perceived that a great number of ships—a perfect fleet of merchantmen—stood in so close to Nystad as to render capture or attack difficult. The boats of the *Harrier* were immediately armed, and so operated that day and the ensuing night that the whole of this fine fleet of coasters

were destroyed. Forty-seven ships were sunk or burned without the loss of a single man of the boats' crews. Twenty thousand tons of shipping were destroyed at Nystad in thirty-six hours.

With this successful feat the narrative of the Baltic operations, as to the present chapter, must close.

The following are the principal despatches of the period to which the chapter refers. Captain Fanshawe thus addressed the admiral on the 6th June, from on board the *Cossack*, off Nargen:—

"It is with the deepest concern that I have to report to you the destruction of a cutter's crew and the officers who went into Hango with a flag of truce yesterday, the 5th instant, in order to land the three prisoners who had been taken with some merchant vessels by her majesty's ships *Cossack* and *Esk*, and also four others to whom I gave a passage to Nargen, they having received their liberty from the prize officers of the vessels captured by her majesty's steam-ship *Magicienne*. The ship having arrived off Hango island yesterday forenoon, the boat was dispatched at 11 A.M. in charge of Lieutenant Geneste, with orders to land the above persons, and to return without delay, taking care that no one straggled from the boat. The officers' stewards were allowed to go in the boat on the same conditions, as was also, at his request, Mr. Easton, surgeon of this ship. The enclosed statement of what occurred on the boats approaching the shore is that of the only man who has returned alive, and I have every reason to believe it correct. Finding that the boat did not duly return, I sent the first lieutenant, about half-past four P.M., in the gig, also with a flag of truce, to ascertain the cause of the delay; and, as neither had returned at the close of the day, I anchored with this ship and the *Esk* in the inner roads. The gig returned about half-past eight, after a long search, having discovered the cutter hauled within a small jetty, and containing the dead bodies of two or three of her crew. It being then late, I made arrangements that the ships should weigh at half-past 2 A.M., and take positions as close to the inner village and telegraph station as possible; and, as I then supposed that the rest of the crew and officers had been made prisoners, I proposed to send in a letter to the nearest military authority, demanding that they and the boat should be given up. But while getting under weigh, the cutter was observed to leave the shore, with one man at the stern, who was endeavouring to scull her out. I therefore immediately sent a boat to her assistance, which brought her on board, and she was found to contain the dead bodies of four of the crew, which were riddled with musket-balls.

"The man who came out in the boat made the accompanying statement of the details of this atrocious massacre; he is very dangerously wounded in the right arm and shoulder, and was left for dead in the boat; but the account he gives of what he saw before he was struck down is clear and consistent, viz.—that on the boat reaching the jetty, Lieutenant Geneste, Mr. Easton, surgeon, and Mr. Sullivan, master's assistant, and the Russian prisoners, stepped on shore and advanced a few paces, Lieutenant Geneste carrying and waving the flag of truce. On their landing, a large party of soldiers, commanded by an officer who spoke English, appeared suddenly and advanced in a threatening manner. The officers then pointed to the flag of truce, and claimed its protection, and also endeavoured to explain the reason of their landing, but to no avail. A volley of musketry was immediately fired at them, which killed them, and also some or all of the Russian prisoners; volleys were then fired into the boat, by which all were struck down, and the assailants then rushed into the boat and threw most of the bodies overboard, and then removed the arms and ammunition which were stowed underneath. Neither before nor during this indiscriminate slaughter was any resistance made, nor hostile intentions shown by the boat's crew with the flag of truce, the muskets that were in the boat not having been loaded, and being in the bottom of the boat, and therefore there appeared to be nothing to justify this barbarous infraction of the usages of war. I therefore opened fire with both ships upon the place at about 600 yards' distance, but it was not returned either with rifles or artillery; and a thick fog having come on shortly afterwards, I ceased firing, and withdrew the ships, the position which they were in not being one in which they could with safety remain at anchor.

"I enclose herewith the names of the officers and men who have met their deaths on this occasion."

The subjoined is a list of officers and cutter's crew who were killed at Hango on the 5th of June, as furnished by Captain Fanshawe:—

"Louis Geneste, lieutenant; R. T. Easton, surgeon; Charles Sullivan, master's assistant; Edward Thomson, leading seaman; Benjamin Smith, able seaman; James Cornwall, ordinary seaman; John Gliddon, able seaman; George Boyle, ordinary seaman; William Roskelly, ordinary seaman; Thomas Stokes, ordinary seaman, second class; John Haughey, stoker; Francis George, ordinary seaman; Owen Francis, able seaman; William Linn, captain's steward; William Banks, gun-room steward; John Lorton, subordinate officers' steward."

To this he added a postscript:—

“It is now said that the three officers are alive, though wounded.”

The following report was signed by Mr. Wise, the paymaster, and Mr. McKenna, the assistant-surgeon of the same ship:—

“About a quarter to four o’clock, John Brown, ordinary seaman, after being taken to the sick-bay, stated, that on the cutter, with a flag of truce flying, getting alongside the small jetty at the village, the officers and liberated Russian prisoners jumped out, and Lieutenant Geneste held up the flag of truce, and told the Russians (who had assembled close to the water and on the jetty, to the number of about 500, dressed as riflemen, and armed with muskets, swords, and bayonets) what it meant, and why they had landed. The old Finn (meaning the captain of the prize *Johanna*) also explained to them, but they said they did not care for flags of truce there, and would show them how to fight the Russians, or words to that effect. A volley was immediately fired at the officers and liberated prisoners, and then into the boat. When all were supposed to be killed, the Russians jumped into the boat, and, after throwing the bodies of the men lying on the arms in the bottom of the boat overboard, took away all the arms, magazine, &c. Brown, though dangerously wounded (having received two shots through the right fore-arm, and one in the shoulder where the bullet lodged), managed in the morning to get up and scull the cutter out. He states that when about 200 yards from the jetty, about 200 men came running down from the telegraph.

“To Mr. Wise.—I am positive that the officers were shot down at once, and before they fired into the boat.

“To Mr. McKenna.—The Russian prisoners were also shot down while on the jetty.

“To Messrs. McKenna and Wise.—The boat went straight into the landing-place. The Russians spoke English, and the person who led them, from his dress and appearance, seemed to be an officer.

“Dr. Easton was the first officer who fell. The old Finnish captain took the flag of truce from Mr. Geneste, and waved it, shouting ‘Flag of truce! Truce!’ But the Russians yelled and fired upon them. Before the men could do anything they were fired upon, and the Russians, with cutlasses, jumped into the boat. They did not use the cutlasses.”

A report of proceedings at Narva was drawn up by Admiral Seymour, as follows, dated June 19th:—“In obedience to your directions of the 15th inst., I quitted Seskar anchorage at 8 A.M. on Saturday, the 16th, anchoring at 7 P.M. under East Tyters Island, off a village situate

on its S.S.E. extremity, with a view of obtaining information respecting the River Narva, but only succeeded in learning that a considerable body of troops were about Narva and its vicinity. Quitting East Tyters on the evening of Sunday, the 17th, Narva Lighthouse was made out yesterday, at 2.30 A.M., with the broad extent of sandy beach that borders the bay. On nearing the entrance of the river, which is narrow, and has a bar on which the breaking shoal water was visible, a considerable number of troops, including a party of cavalry, were seen in active movement, and a large *caisson*, or construction of timber, was floated and sunk in the entrance of the river, and became the means of communication with either side; a few wood vessels and river craft only were visible inside the river, the banks of which are of sand, thickly timbered, and well adapted for defence by troops. An earth battery of twelve guns lies on the east side of the river’s entrance, and one of ten guns near the lighthouse, with another in its rear, seen from the masthead, apparently to command the river; and two other guns were placed in position on the right extremity of the Lighthouse Battery. An opportunity was afforded to try the practical efficiency of the gun-boats *Pincher* and *Snap*, under the immediate charge of Captain Hall, of the *Blenheim*, who, with good judgment, added one of his maindeck 68-pounders to the armament of the former, and, until rain and squally weather interfered, their practice was good, and their constant change of position rendered them difficult objects to hit, though the fort guns were well served, using hot shot, which frequently passed near and over them. On the weather clearing, the gun-boats opened fire, and the *Blenheim* and *Exmouth* likewise took an opportunity of a couple of hours’ practice, covering the gun-boats with good effect, which were ably manœuvred by Lieutenant C. A. C. De Crespigny, in command of the *Snap*, and Lieutenant Stewart, in command of the *Pincher*, in the former of which I had placed Lieutenant Travers, Royal Marines, with ten gunners of the Royal Marine artillery of the *Exmouth*, who did good service. Mr. Harper, assistant-surgeon of this ship, was likewise on board the *Snap*, he having volunteered for that service. As it was evident from the first that no serious attempt could be made on the enemy’s position, and as a large expenditure of ammunition would have been useless, I considered that enough had now been done to occupy the attention of the troops in the neighbourhood, and, no advantage appearing to offer itself for a longer continuance in Narva Bay, the signal was made to discontinue firing, and I proceeded, in compliance with your orders, to rejoin your flag. I enclose a return of a casualty which, I regret to learn, occurred to Captain Searle,

of the *Blenheim*, the effects of which, I trust, will not prove serious."

The following is an extract of a letter from Rear-admiral Hon. R. S. Dundas, to the secretary of the Admiralty, dated *Duke of Wellington*, Tolbukén Lighthouse, July 7:—"I cannot conclude this letter without calling the particular attention of their lordships to the active exertions of Captain Story, of her majesty's ship *Harrier*, which led a few days later to the destruction of a large amount of shipping, discovered afterwards in another anchorage near Nystad, as detailed in the enclosure to Captain Warden's report of the 2nd inst.:—"I have the honour to inform you that the boats of this ship destroyed forty-seven ships belonging to the enemy, varying from 700 tons to 200 tons, on the nights of the 23rd and 24th inst. On the first night the ships destroyed were one mile from the town of Nystad, and about three miles from the ship, and we were enabled to bring one bark, the *Victoria*, of about 450 tons, off with us. On the following morning the steam was got up and we proceeded to sea, to anchor the prize off Enskov Lighthouse. At 5 p.m., however, we steamed towards the land, and anchored at about 7.30

p.m., and at 8 p.m. the boats were again dispatched. During the night and following day we discovered forty-two ships, the whole of which we either burnt or scuttled. I have the greatest pleasure in being able to state that these proceedings were so successfully carried out without any casualty. Owing to the distance we got away from the ship (ten or eleven miles), and the blowing weather, accompanied with rain, that came on during the morning, we were prevented from bringing any vessel out with us. We did not get back to the ship until after 6 p.m. this afternoon, the men having been on their oars twenty-two hours. I think, sir, I am only doing common justice to the men when I state how pleased I was to see the zeal and perseverance with which they worked for so many hours, neither can I omit stating my belief that this arose in a great measure from the good example of the officers, especially the senior lieutenant, Mr. Annesley, from whom I have ever received the most active assistance. Having, then, in two following nights and one day, destroyed the whole of the Nystad shipping (probably upwards of 20,000 tons), I trust these proceedings will meet with your approval."

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE SEBASTOPOL PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE: EXAMINATIONS AND REPORT.—THE SEBASTOPOL MINISTERIAL COMMISSION: INVESTIGATION AND REPORT.

"Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer's cloud
Without our special wonder."—SHAKSPEARE.

Few events had such influence upon the progress of the war as the appointment of what was popularly called the "Sebastopol Committee," and the "Sebastopol Commission." In discussing home events, the occurrences were noticed, and the immediate effect of the former of these upon the state of parties in the British parliament; the downfall of the Aberdeen cabinet; the appointment of Lord Palmerston to the chief direction of affairs; the subsequent secession from his ministry of the Peel section of it; and the ferment among the public that the necessity should have arisen—from the action of incompetent government at home, and incompetent direction of the army at home and abroad—for its appointment.

Our readers have been reminded that, in consequence of the public agitation caused by the neglect and improper management of the army in the Crimea, by those whose duty it was to have ministered to its wants and directed its affairs with discretion, two bodies of inquiries were appointed by two different authorities at home. One of these consisted of

Sir J. McNeil, Colonel Tulloch, and Dr. Gavin: they were appointed by the government to act as commissioners of her majesty, to proceed to the Crimea, and inquire on the spot concerning the actual state of the army, and the causes which had previously entailed such sad disaster. This commission of inquiry was to report to her majesty's government, and that report was to be private; but, on the demand of the Commons, it was eventually published. Its ostensible use was to guide her majesty's ministers in adopting governmental remedies against the recurrence of similar disasters.

The other inquiring body was composed of a committee of the House of Commons, appointed by that house, and its use was for the information of the Commons, and the people whom that house represented in the legislature, that such measures might be adopted by it as the exigencies of the case might demand. This body of inquirers, and the design of their appointment, were thus officially designated:—"The committee for inquiring into the state of the army before Sebastopol." The inquiry was to be conducted in one of the com-

mittee-rooms (Room No. 17) of the Parliament House.

It will be recollected by the reader of this History that on the 26th of January, 1855, Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, moved in the house for the appointment of this committee: on the 29th his resolution was carried. The change of ministry which followed, the consequent delay in the transaction of all parliamentary business, and the secession of an important section of the Palmerston cabinet, rendered it impossible for the committee to meet, for the conduct of the inquiry, before the 5th of March. The examinations of witnesses were conducted through the months of March, April, and May, communications of importance being occasionally made to the house. On the 18th of June the full report was made and read before the house. The committee consisted of Mr. Roebuck, chairman, Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Bramston, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Sir James Pakington, General Peel, Lord Seymour, and Sir J. Hanmer. Strangers were admitted,—a resolution of the house having been passed, making it an open committee. The first day was signalled by the examination of two important witnesses—Mr. G. Dundas, who had visited the Crimea during the occurrences of many of the circumstances causing the investigation; and Lieutenant-general Sir de Lacy Evans, Bart. Their testimony was seriously inculpatory of the officials, civil and military. The next day the general was again examined. The main features of his evidence this day were the allegation that, notwithstanding bad food and the severity of the weather, the troops would not have sickened and died to such an extent but for the laborious work in the trenches, which, from the first, was far beyond the numerical force of the army. The government at home, in undertaking such an expedition with a force inadequate, and the commander-in-chief in consenting to occupy a position in the siege beyond the power of his army, were the parties to blame. The expectation of the Aberdeen government that the czar would not persevere in his demands against the armed remonstrance and demonstration of England and France, the general also considered the cause of the expedition having been unprovided with the necessities of campaigning; this threw the blame chiefly upon the Earl of Aberdeen and his cabinet. With the command of the sea possessed by the allies, it was the general's conviction that the authorities could have supplied the troops with every requisite, military and commissariat.

It would be impossible to insert even an abstract of the evidence, as it occupies a vast

blue-book, the contents of which would fill many numbers of this History. All that is possible in this respect is to give a portion of the evidence of a few of the more important witnesses as specimens of the character of the proceedings. It is scarcely necessary to do more than this for the information of our readers, as the evidence taken before the committee is frequently embodied in the narrative of events in the Crimea connected with the state of the army, and of the conduct of the war at home and abroad.

On the 12th of March, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge was under examination. His mode of giving his evidence was frank, open, and manly, eliciting the admiration of the committee and the spectators. His evidence was substantially the same as that of Sir de Lacy Evans. The latter officer did not speak so highly of the staff of the army as his royal highness did, but considered the expectations of the public too high after so long a peace.

On the same day that the duke was examined, Colonel Wilson gave startling and appalling evidence. He declared that the men were literally killed by overwork in the trenches; that for a long time they had only three hours of the twenty-four off duty; that frequently they were on duty three nights successively without any sleep; on the fourth some rest might be taken, and then the painful round of sleepless nights began again. During these long watchings they were hard at work, and often had to defend themselves against the arms of the enemy. In the field-hospitals the men lay on the bare ground, which was often damp.

On the 13th of March Captain Kellock, of the *Himalaya*, testified that he brought out charcoal for the troops, which would not be received at Balaklava; and he had to take it back to Constantinople, although he offered to land it at Balaklava with his own boats and by his own crew. He also stated that he was ordered to convey the convalescents from Scutari to join their regiments in the Crimea, when the men were in the most wretched state of emaciation and debility; some, in answer to his remonstrances, were re-landed.

On the same day a non-commissioned officer was examined, whose presence attracted a great deal of attention; he had lost his left arm at Inkerman. This witness was Sergeant Thomas Dawson. He, especially, bore evidence to the willingness of the soldiers to carry tents rather than leave them behind, as they were compelled to do. One of the chief sources of suffering and sickness, in his opinion, was sleeping on the bare, damp ground without any shelter. When the men had tents, as many as fifteen soldiers had to live in one tent

in Bulgaria, in the heat of summer, and while pestilence was raging. This witness represented that the stock caused the men great suffering on the march in warm weather, causing men to drop out when proceeding from the encampment to Varna. Examined by Mr. Layard:—"You worked in the trenches?"—"Yes."—"Did you hear any complaints of the tools?"—"Yes, often; the tools we had were very bad indeed. The bills would not cut a piece of wood—pieces chipped out of the edges an inch long. The pickaxes were generally bad; they were always coming off the handles, if they did not break. The shovels were worse than the picks."—"How did the men like the Minié rifle?"—"Very well; only when engaged there is no time to fix the slides, and the men have to judge the sight by their own eye."

The examination on hospital subjects it is not necessary even to glance at, as in the body of this work a full account of the history and condition of the hospitals in the East is given.

The Duke of Newcastle was one of the most important witnesses, and was under examination during the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of April. The main points of the duke's testimony were, that he deviated from established forms, to promote the efficiency of the service, whenever he dare; that he sought means of correcting abuses and overruling formalities, but that his office did not give him the power to do so efficiently; that there were so many co-ordinate departments controlling the army—such as the War-office, the Colonial-office, the Secretary at War, the Ordnance, the Horse-Guards, and the Treasury—that it was frequently impossible to know to which department a particular duty belonged; that the cabinet was kept in extraordinary ignorance of the real state of things, both in the offices at home and at the theatre of war; and that the reports made to the different heads of departments distinctly contradicted one another; hence the contradictions of ministers in parliament, and their erroneous statements concerning matters about which the country supposed them well informed.

The appointment of Lord Raglan to the command of the army in the Crimea, he being then master-general of the Ordnance, without making his resignation of that office dependent upon his acceptance of the command, was the cause of many of the obstructions which the Duke of Newcastle had to encounter. A lieutenant-general of Ordnance was appointed, but his relations to the master-general, or the board, or the government, were never clearly defined, and therefore confusion reigned in every branch of the department. Almost all

the misadventures connected with the sending out of huts, their inopportune arrival, the dispatching of shells without fuses, and cartridges that would not fit the firearms for which they were intended, resulted from the absence of the master-general and the ill-defined relations of his lieutenant.

On the 1st of May another very important witness was placed before the committee—Lieutenant-general Sir John Burgoyne. As in the case of Sir de Lacy Evans and the Duke of Cambridge, he attributed the chief evils that befel the army to the great error of attempting a great undertaking with an utterly inadequate numerical force. The skilful and gallant old chief bore hard upon the inefficiency of all our arrangements for an army in the field.

Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir James Graham, Vice-admiral Dundas, Lord Hardinge, and the Earl of Aberdeen, were all brought forward. The last witness examined was the ex-premier. He admitted that his first information concerning many of the painful facts which caused the committee of inquiry to be appointed was derived through the newspapers, and at first he did not believe them, and therefore adopted no means of remedying them. This evidence produced much sensation in the committee room, and afterwards throughout the country.

On the 18th of June Mr. Roebuck presented the report to the house; it was read by Sir Ducis le Marchant. Its spirit was most lenient towards individuals, but its language severe as to the working of our whole official system. It analysed the state of the army at Sebastopol, declining any opinion as to the propriety, in a military point of view, of engaging the men in an undertaking so disproportionate to their numbers. It declared that sufficient cause was not shown for the wants and sufferings of the men on the spot, nor were sufficient precautions taken against the calamities which, without such care, must under the circumstances be expected to occur.

The want of a clear understanding as to the relations of the commissary and quartermaster-generals, and of the former officer to the chief of the medical staff, was productive of general disaster; and the impossibility of the commissary-general obtaining from home or from the commander-in-chief in the Crimea instructions sufficiently definite, deprived him of the power in many cases of exercising the provision requisite in his situation.

The report dwelt on the inhumanity and folly of distributing green coffee berries to the troops; while the commissary and the home government were carrying on a lengthened correspondence as to the best way of preserving the aroma of the berry, and the advantages of the Turkish mode of packing!

The distribution of bad tools was denounced

as proceeding from the carelessness or the dishonesty of the officials at home.

The state of the hospitals on the Bosphorus was the subject of severe comment. The military superintendent was declared to be incompetent, and timid of all responsibility to a degree which injured the public service. Dr. Menzies, the chief medical authority there, was censured for reporting that neither medical appliances nor stores were wanting, at a time when the hospitals were nearly destitute of everything. The severity of this officer where the sufferings of the men were concerned was reprehended; but some apology was admitted for him on the ground that his duties were onerous beyond endurance, and finally broke down his health. Just tributes of respect were paid to Miss Nightingale, the Hon. and Rev. Sydney Osborne, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Macdonald, the *Times*' commissioner, the *Times* itself, &c. &c., for the humanity displayed to the sick, and the aid extended to them.

The management of the transport service was very strongly denounced. At Balaklava there were three authorities—the director of transports, the harbour-master, and the commander-in-chief (through his quartermaster-general)—perpetually in conflict, none knowing his proper province. At the Bosphorus Admiral Boxer worked hard, and behaved coarsely. His representations to the home authorities were valuable, but neglected by Sir James Graham, the first lord of the Admiralty. The want of proper regulations for the guidance of the transport service generally was denounced as an error of the government. Sir James Graham represented Admiral Dundas and Lord Raglan as having a concurrent jurisdiction, which appears to us to be the true view of the case. Lord Raglan never exercised any authority, except in especial instances; and Admiral Dundas refused, even when urged by the Duke of Newcastle for the sake of the service, to do so.

The committee were severe upon purveyors, and especially upon the medicine purveyor at the Bosphorus, who for months kept no accounts.

The state of the official departments at home the committee considered to be discreditable to the country. A mere formal routine took the place of all thought and considerate attention for the advantage of the country. There was no sufficient scheme of responsibility—no well-defined arrangement of the provinces of the various departments—such as the Horse-Guards, War-office, Ordnance-board, Board of Admiralty, &c.

The chief censure of the committee was directed against the cabinet of the Earl of Aberdeen. In the opinion of the committee, that government was faithless to its duty—it entered upon the war without a definite policy

—made no preparations for a contest—provided no army reserve near the seat of war—and no militia reserve at home. It directed the Crimean expedition without any information as to the topographical peculiarities of the country as affecting military purposes, or the strength of the enemy. The ambassador to the czar was ignorant on the subject—so was the ambassador to the Porte, although Russia had long been preparing such vast resources and appliances there for aggressive purposes. When the expedition landed, no provision was made for a winter campaign, although there was plenty of time to do so, and the government had abundant resources at command. Besides all this there was a general inattention and indifference shown by the government to the progress of the war, which exposed the country to peril. The report placed the responsibility of the misfortunes that had occurred chiefly upon the incompetency, indifference, and want of intelligence of Lord Aberdeen and his cabinet. The concluding passage of the report is instructive and impressive:—"Your committee, in conclusion, cannot but remark that the first real improvements in the lamentable condition of the hospitals at Scutari are to be attributed to *private suggestions, private exertions, and private benevolence*. A fund, raised by public subscription, was administered by the proprietors of the *Times* newspaper, through Mr. Macdonald, an intelligent and zealous agent. At the suggestion of the secretary at war, Miss Nightingale, with admirable devotion, organised a band of nurses, and undertook the care of the sick and wounded. The Hon. Jocelyn Percy, the Hon. and Rev. Sydney Osborne, and Mr. Augustus Stafford, after a personal inspection of the hospitals, furnished valuable reports and suggestions to the government. By these means much suffering was alleviated, the spirits of the men were raised, and many lives were saved. Your committee have now adverted to the chief points contained in the replies to above TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND QUESTIONS; and, in noticing these various subjects, they have divided them under distinct heads, in order fairly to apportion the responsibility. Your committee report, that the sufferings of the army mainly resulted from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no

provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience, under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon their country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report, with a hope that every British army may in future display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

The general feeling in the house upon the reading of the report was, that it was discreet and prudent, and, on the whole, a very good report. The general feeling of the country was, that the officials were protected by a majority of the committee, and that Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Layard were overruled and outvoted by that majority in the patriotic efforts of those two honourable members to bring to light the corruption and culpability that prevailed. Colonel Peel and Mr. Drummond were (perhaps unfairly) supposed to be the chief powers by whom the two honourable members opposed to abuses were thwarted and impeded. At all events, the report failed in giving satisfaction to the public; there was a desire to find some victim—to single out some one for punishment; and the qualified disapprobation expressed by the committee when the Duke of Newcastle, Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham, were concerned, was attributed to a desire to screen these persons from the punishment they deserved. In truth, the public did not know that, whatever the errors and incompetency of all or any of these administrators, the difficulties by which the system beset them were all but insurmountable. There was no energy put forth by the public to reform "the system" at all adequate to the demands of the emergency; and neither peers, commons, nor cabinet, were as much in earnest in effecting reform as the outburst of feeling connected with the appointment of "the Sebastopol Committee" would lead men to expect. Some reforms did result from the disclosures made, and the suggestions and censures contained in the report, and there the effect of the appointment of the Sebastopol Committee terminated. The report itself, however, still remains as a warning to the present generation, and will be a warning to posterity, to watch all governments with constitutional jealousy, and to insist upon the principle being carried out thoroughly in every branch of the public service—

"*Palmam qui meruit ferat.*"

The proceedings of the commission sent to the Crimea were scarcely less important than

those of the committee of the House of Commons. The commissioners, before reaching the Crimea, examined minutely the state of affairs at the Bosphorus, where it was discovered that stores of almost every kind were in great quantities at the very time that the sick in the hospitals were perishing for want of them, the storekeeping department having been managed without regularity or skill. The intelligence gleaned by the commissioners there, set them upon the right track of inquiry when they arrived in the Crimea. To this they bore testimony in the following language:—"The information we obtained at Scutari and Constantinople was of great importance to our future proceedings; we ascertained that the sick arriving from the Crimea were nearly all suffering from diseases chiefly attributable to diet, and that the food supplied to the army during the winter, consisting principally of salt meat and biscuit, with a very insufficient proportion of vegetables, was calculated, in the circumstances in which the troops were placed, to produce those diseases; it was therefore evidently desirable to increase the supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and to substitute fresh bread for biscuit. Regarded merely in a pecuniary point of view, irrespective of higher considerations, moral and political, the most wasteful of all expenditure is the expenditure of men. There is hardly any conceivable price that it may be necessary to pay for what is required to preserve the health and efficiency of the soldier that is not advantageously laid out. Every soldier has cost a large sum before he is landed in the Crimea fit for duty, and it costs a like sum to replace him. The value of the other considerations cannot be estimated in money, for they are above all price."

When they arrived at Balaklava, every obstruction was thrown in the way of these gentlemen by certain officials there, but the commissioners were not the men to be deterred from their duty; they vigorously prosecuted it, and, although they found it extremely difficult to obtain proper information from some who ought, from their position, to have upheld the authority of the queen's commission, all essential information was procured. It is unnecessary to recapitulate that, as in the course of the narrative of events before Sebastopol it has been brought out. The commissioners, in the report, blamed "the system" rather than individuals; but they did not hesitate to fix upon certain persons much censure—Sir Richard Airey, the quartermaster-general; Colonel Gordon, his assistant; the Earl of Lucan, commander-in-chief of the cavalry; the Earl of Cardigan, the commander of the light cavalry; and other officers. All these noblemen and gentlemen denied the justice of the critiques of the commissioners' report, and de-

manded further investigations, which the government at home granted, and which resulted in a formal acquittal from blame of the individual officers. The "system" stood proxy for everybody upon whom any imputation rested. The following extract from the commissioners' report will depict the state of matters in the Crimea as it appeared to them, and appropriately close this chapter:—

"The sufferings of the army in the course of the winter, and especially during the months of December and January, must have been intense. We have not noted all the particulars related to us, many of which were unconnected with our inquiry; but we may state that it has been only by slow degrees, and after the frequent repetition of similar details, as one witness after another revealed the facts that had come under his own observation, that we have been able to form any adequate conception of the distress and misery undergone by the troops, or fully to appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain has often had reason to be proud of her army, but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting, throughout a long campaign, qualities as high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. The strength of the men gave way under excessive labour, watching, exposure, and privation; but they never murmured, their spirit never failed, and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected in those whom he encountered any signs of weakness.

Their numbers were reduced by disease and by casualties to a handful of men, compared with the great extent of the lines which they constructed and defended; yet the army never abated its confidence in itself, and never descended from its acknowledged military pre-eminence. Both men and officers, when so reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty upon their comrades; yet they maintained every foot of ground against all the efforts of the enemy, and with numbers so small that perhaps no other troops would even have made the attempt. Suffering and privation have frequently led to crime in armies, as in other communities, but offences of a serious character have been unknown in the British army in the Crimea. Not one capital offence has been committed, or even alleged to have been committed, by a soldier, and intemperance has been rare. Every one who knows anything of the constitution of the army must feel that when troops so conduct themselves throughout a long campaign, the officers must have done their duty, and set the example. The conduct of the men, therefore, implies the highest encomium that can be passed upon their officers. They have not only shared all the danger and exposure, and most of the privations which the men had to undergo, but we everywhere found indications of their solicitude for the welfare of those who were under their command, and of their constant readiness to employ their private means in promoting the comfort of their men."

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE PACIFIC AND KAMTSCHATKA.—ESCAPE OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET FROM PETROPAULOVSKI AND FROM DE CASTRIES BAY.—DESTRUCTION OF THE RUSSIAN FRIGATE DIANA, AT JAPAN, BY AN EARTHQUAKE.—CAPTAIN AND PORTIONS OF THE CREW OF THE DIANA ELUDE THE BRITISH CRUISERS.—CAPTURE OF TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY SEAMEN OF THAT SHIP BY THE BARRACOUTA.—NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE WHITE SEA.

"C'est trop tard."

DURING the years 1854 and 1855 the language of this motto might be with great justice applied to all the naval operations in which England was engaged. "Too late!" might be written over the doors of the Admiralty. A French politician of distinction taunted his government for their tardiness, by an eloquent iteration of these words through the medium of the press, and the Earl of Derby, in the British House of Peers, dextrously rounded the periods of an eloquent declamation against the Aberdeen government by a repetition of the same accusation of fatal and infatuated delay. It was always too late, whatever was projected in our naval plans, and

wherever their execution was attempted. In the Baltic, in 1854, nothing could be done because, as Sir Charles Napier declared, of the tardiness of Sir James Graham in supplying him with gun-boats, while Sir James related that all the mischief arose from the admiral being *too late* in asking for them. In the Baltic, 1855, the Admiralty actually sent out a reinforcement of mortar-vessels when Dundas was sending home the fleet. In the White Sea, in both years, the season was too far advanced for an effective campaign when the ships arrived there. In the Black Sea, in 1854, the action of the allied admirals and their respec-

tive governments was *too late* to prevent the massacre of Sinope, or even to avenge it; and in 1855, the only action of the fleets—that at Kertch and in the Sea of Azoff—was a month *too late* for all the purposes of the important objects contemplated, Canrobert being then the clog upon the fleets and armies. So in the Northern Pacific, in 1855, “too late” may be written under every separate procedure of the fleets of France and England. The conduct of the war through the previous year was marked by the grossest incompetency. Admiral Price ended his part in the transactions by suicide; and the whole of the allied squadrons ended theirs by disgrace and defeat before the enemy. The conduct of the war in these parts in 1855 was also characterised by disgrace and defeat, not, indeed, in essays of arms, but by allowing inferior Russian forces to elude the vigilance of the naval chiefs who should have found, conquered, and captured them.

It will be recollected from our narrative in a previous chapter, that the allied attempt upon the town of Petropaulovski was repulsed, and that the baffled squadrons sailed southward for winter shelter, the English having no port in these regions, while the Russians have no less than five ports where ships could refit. It is a provoking taunt for an American to write, but we fear it is a just one, that had the English possessions in the Northern Pacific belonged to the American Union, thriving states and flourishing ports would arise even in these ungenial and remote regions, now sterile and unfrequented under the depressing rule of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the English Colonial-office.

In the spring of 1855 the English prepared, under Admiral Bruce, to assume the offensive in the Northern Pacific. No means were taken to procure information there, or to send out information from home; while the Russians spent considerable sums in gaining a precise knowledge of the force and intentions of their enemies, principally by means of American captains and commercial men. From Russia, also, across the frozen tracks of Siberia, a journey of 7000 miles, the energetic, vigilant, and persevering government of St. Petersburg transmitted orders and intelligence with a rapidity which any other nation in the world, except perhaps the American, would have deemed impossible; and which, although Englishmen would have undertaken and executed, an English government would never have tried to accomplish.

In the Pacific Ocean at the opening of 1855 there were two English squadrons—one was in the Chinese seas, under Admiral Stirling; the other in the Northern Pacific, under Admiral Bruce. The former protected the commerce of the allies on the coasts of China and Australia; the latter was to cruise by the

western coasts of America. Before the end of March the allies had assembled in the Chinese seas five frigates, five sailing sloops, seven war-steamers, and a number of tenders, steam and sailing vessels, making a force of 300 guns, and ten times as many men. This fleet detached ships and squadrons in the different directions where it was expected the Russians would be met with, where they were to be joined by detachments from the other fleet off the American coast. The month of April had advanced before these squadrons and ships were dispatched, long before which time the Russians had orders from St. Petersburg, and intelligence from their American emissaries in these seas, which enabled them to take their measures to insure, if possible, security, notwithstanding the odds against them. Admiral Stirling frankly stated before the season commenced *that he had no intention of attacking any of the Russian ports.*

On the 7th of April the *Sibylle*, a 40-gun frigate, the *Bittern* brig of war, and the *Hornet*, a fine steam corvette, left Hong-Kong, under the orders of Commodore the Hon. C. Elliott. The destination of this squadron was the Amoor. On reaching the Japan Isles fogs intercepted the navigation. Passing through the Corea Straits and the Sea of Japan, the squadron steamed through the Strait of Sangar, and anchored off Hakodadi, in the island of Yeszo, on the 27th of April. Here the ships remained until the 7th of May, losing time after the fashion of Admiral Price at Honolulu the previous year. On the 7th of May the commodore quitted Yeszo, and passed into the Gulf of Tartary, sailing northward to the mouth of the Amoor. This river rises in Mongolia, and falls into an arm of the Ockhotsk Sea, called the Gulf of Saghalien, opposite the north end of the peninsula which bears that name. This peninsula is generally represented to be an island, but it is connected with the main-land by low sand-banks, skirted with immense beds of sea-weed. Over this bank the sea at certain periods flows, just covering it, which can hardly cause the peninsula to be properly called an island. This peninsula (or island, if such a name be applicable) was carefully examined by La Perouse, the French navigator. He believed he could sail round it, but on making the attempt was unable to bring his vessel far up the gulf, because of the sand-banks. He then sent forward boats, which were unable to proceed, owing to the shallowness of the water. The officers in charge of the boats could observe no signs of the slightest current, and concluded that the notion of the projecting land facing the gulf being an island was erroneous. Captain Broughton afterwards went nine miles farther up, and found the passage closed by low sand-banks. There are

therefore, no sufficient grounds for the description of Findlay, when he says, "It is not absolutely determined whether Saghalien be a peninsula or an island." This peninsula is not much short of 700 miles in length, stretching parallel with the coast of Chinese Tartary; between either shore lies the Gulf of Tartary and the Gulf of Saghalien. In the Gulf of Tartary is a bay called De Castries. While Commodore Elliott was sailing northward to the Amoor, he looked into the Bay of De Castries, and there found a Russian frigate, three corvettes, a brig, and a small steamer: this was on the 20th of May. The commodore found it impossible to obtain a safe entrance to the bay, and his force was inferior to that of the Russians. After reconnoitring and repeatedly exchanging fire with the enemy, he resolved to communicate with his admiral, then 1500 miles away, and for this purpose sent the *Bittern*. The commodore had the egregious folly to accompany her three days' sail, and when he returned after a week's absence, the Russian squadron had escaped—he was "too late."

In an agony of chagrin and anger, the commodore beat about, not knowing where to go or what to do. It never occurred to him that the enemy would take advantage of his absence to escape to a place of greater security. He seems to have imagined that the Russians should have stayed where they were, until it suited his convenience to attack them with advantage. The commodore contrived to get in when the enemy had got out, where he found the remains of a Russian settlement, which the people had evidently deserted, accompanying the squadron. There was discovered a package of Russian documents, which might have been of importance, and thrown some light upon the course which the Russian squadron had taken, if it acted under any especial directions from St. Petersburg, which was in fact the case. One would suppose that a squadron would hardly be sent to sea, whose duty it was to go in quest of an enemy along his own coasts, without some person being appointed to accompany it acquainted with the language of that enemy; but nothing seemed to be thought of at home or abroad connected with naval matters until *too late*. When it was *too late* a person was found to translate the documents. Very little information could be wrung from the British Admiralty concerning any of these transactions, and few despatches were published. The government was evidently ashamed of everything connected with these operations, except to promote the commodore to the honourable office of a naval aide-de-camp to the queen, in common with the practice all through the war, of promoting persons of high influence and connexion, whatever the disasters which attended their want of vigilance and skill. The information so

difficult to obtain from English sources was in this case supplied by the enemy.

The *Morski Sbornik*, a naval magazine, published at St. Petersburg, gives the following narrative of how the Russian fleet in the Pacific escaped the English cruisers:—"As soon as Admiral Savoiko, commander of Petropaulovski, received orders to destroy the fortifications of that town, and to proceed to the liman of the Amoor, he made his preparations for evacuating the place, had a passage sawn through the ice in the Bay of Avatscha, and went to sea on the 17th of April, with the corvette *Olivouska*, the *Aurora* frigate, and three transports, *Dwind*, *Irsysk*, and *Baikal*. The squadron counted about 300 souls, including women and children, all inhabitants of Petropaulovski. After a most trying passage the squadron east anchor in Castries Bay (51° 27' north latitude), and the admiral placed his ships behind some banks and shallows, so as to prevent their being turned by the enemy. On the 20th of May a frigate, a corvette, and an English brig made their appearance; the corvette approached and threw some shells against one of the Russian vessels, but the whole enemy's squadron soon went to sea again. As Admiral Savoiko had been informed that Cape Lasareff, situate more north, at the mouth of the Amoor, was free from ice, he took advantage of the departure of the English vessels, weighed anchor, and, after a perilous passage, his vessels reached their destination, one by one, between the 1st and 6th of June. Batteries were thrown up on the shore, and a few weeks later all the vessels were placed in shelter behind the bars of the Amoor. During the run from Castries Bay to Cape Lasareff an American vessel, the *William Penn*, was spoken. She had on board 150 Russians of the crew of the *Diana*, wrecked, it will be remembered, on the Japanese coast, and shortly after his arrival at Cape Lasareff, Admiral Savoiko was joined by Admiral Paniutin; the latter had made his escape in a very bold and enterprising manner. After the shipwreck of the *Diana*, he conceived the idea of making his crew build a schooner. The undertaking succeeded so well that, after ten weeks' hard work, to which the Japanese and their government gave an assisting hand in providing materials, sails, &c., a vessel of the desired size was launched and named the *Khida*, after the port where it was constructed. Forty men and seven officers formed the crew of the schooner, which reached Petropaulovski on the 22nd of May. Finding that place abandoned, the admiral lost no time in leaving Avatscha Bay, which was watched by hostile cruisers, and he succeeded in reaching La Perouse Straits, between the islands of Saghalien and Yeszo. Here he was nearly surprised one night by a vessel of the enemy, which passed within 700 yards of him. He was given

chase to; but the admiral escaped, and continuing his course northwards, he joined, as already stated, the rest of the Kamtschatka flotilla at Cape Lasareff. Thence he proceeded shortly to the Nicholas Station, the chief and well-fortified point of that territory, and deposited there all the *matériel* which the squadron had brought from Petropaulovski."

Meanwhile the *Bittern* found Admiral Stirling, on the 29th of May, near the coast of Japan, whither he had transferred his headquarters. On the next day he set sail in the *Winchester*; the *Spartan* and the *Tartar* joined the *Winchester* and the *Bittern* in the Strait of Sangar. The admiral was at this time within a couple of days' sail of the commodore; but he was in no hurry; it was not the custom in this war for British admirals to make haste, in any sea or for any purpose. It was the 7th of June before the admiral and the commodore formed a junction. For ten days they did nothing, or next to nothing, to discover the enemy, and the entire month of June was consumed without any development of skill or energy. A letter afterwards published contains the following passage concerning the occupation at this juncture of some of the ships from the fleet of Admiral Bruce:—"In the Gulf of Tartary, in lat. 48° 56' a large and convenient bay was discovered on the Corea, affording an excellent anchorage, and in the bay were found the remains of a Russian man-of-war, which had been recently burnt. Two batteries had been erected to protect the vessel in her berth, and numerous huts, &c., were on the shore. From the inscriptions on various tombs it appears the Russians had been there about two years, and the natives gave our fleet to understand that the Russian sailors had left on sleighs about seven weeks before their visit. There seems no doubt that the vessel was the frigate *Pallas*, as her figure-head was found. She must have been there about two years undiscovered by our men-of-war, who, we are informed, were by their orders prevented from searching that coast."

At the close of 1854, orders had been sent to Bruce to watch Petropaulovski, as soon as the season for operations should open. At the beginning of April he found himself at the head of a powerful armament, consisting of the *President*, 50; *Encounter*, 14; *Barracouta*, 6; *Pique*, 40; *Trincomalee*, 24; *Amphitrite*, 24; *Dido*, 18; and *Brisk*, 14. The French admirals, Penanros and Fournichon, had a small squadron, and the whole fleet, whose headquarters were at Valparaiso, numbered twelve ships, carrying 354 guns. The *Barracouta* and *Encounter* were dispatched to watch Petropaulovski. About the middle of April they arrived near Kamtschatka, and stayed there until it was too late to watch Petropaulovski. The British

officers all through seem to have regarded the Russians as a dilatory race, whose modes of action were formed by the rules and regulations of the British Admiralty. *These two ships "watched Petropaulovski" at a distance of between sixty and eighty miles, until the end of May, when Admiral Bruce, not being in any greater haste than his subordinates, or co-operating admirals and commodores, leisurely arrived off Kamtschatka, and found the "watching" ships waiting for him.* The fleet proceeded to the place where they hoped the enemy would have remained until their arrival, in order to be caught. The admiral found all that he deserved to find—a deserted town and an empty harbour. Petropaulovski had been fortified during the conflict of 1854, and so strongly, that the admiral and his fleet would have met from its batteries and the ships, had they remained there, a formidable reception. The Russian orders, however, which arrived across land early in March, were for the ships to escape to the Amoor early in the year, and for the fortifications to be defended by the troops and the inhabitants to the last extremity. The *Diana* frigate, the governor was informed, would bring him a supply of ammunition, and land some heavy guns and mortars. The *Diana* not having arrived at the appointed time, the governor feared that she had encountered the enemy, and he therefore dismantled the batteries, buried the guns or carried them away, and removed the troops and the inhabitants. The fate of the *Diana* was singular. She put into the chief port of Japan, and was wrecked by an earthquake there. Her energetic commander sent a portion of her crew in an American ship to Petropaulovski, which arrived in time to accompany the fugitives thence to the Amoor. He afterwards built a sloop, and in it reached the same place in safety, escaping the vigilance of all the English cruisers. Had a tenth part of the energy and foresight of this one Russian been displayed by any of the British or French admirals or commodores, not a Russian ship in these seas would have escaped. All the Russian authorities, wherever acting on these shores or waters, showed the utmost zeal for their country's service, the most untiring vigilance, the quickest celerity and promptitude, a sagacious foresight, and careful precaution.

Admiral Bruce found a Russian whaler, which had been snugly moored in a quiet and sheltered creek. This had been retained to convey away the governor and his family, who had fled to the interior. Bruce contrived to open communications with him, and exchange some prisoners. After these exploits, the admiral, with puzzled and disappointed mind, considered whether he should go to find ships, batteries, or anything belonging to the foe.

The fairest months of summer had been spent: four admirals, two commodores, and a score of captains, had been roaming about the Pacific, unable to come up with anything Russian, without any well-concerted plans of action, and without knowing how to dispose of the large forces under their command with any advantage to their respective countries.

During the months of July and August the time was consumed by the fleets in cruising about in a bewildered way—some of the ships in and out of the Sea of Ockhotsk; some trying to get into the Amoor, from which a barrier of sand-banks kept them, and no spirited or skilful efforts were put forth to penetrate the intricacies of these obstructions.

When the gallant captain of the *Diana* escaped with a portion of his men in the sloop he had himself built, there were about 280 of his sailors left behind; these procured a Dutch ship to take them to the Amoor, but were intercepted by the *Barracouta*, and captured; the only piece of good fortune that fell to the allies during the season, unless the taking possession of the little island of Urup, a Russian possession, may be also esteemed such. This little isle is the centre of the trade of Russia in the Kurile Archipelago; and the French thought it of sufficient importance to change the name to "Alliance." A tolerably good prize was found there—a vessel laden with furs.

A letter from San Francisco, dated the 5th of September, gave a succinct account of some of the proceedings of a portion of the allied fleets which we have not noticed elsewhere:—"Her majesty's frigates *President*, 50, Captain Burrige, and *Amphitrite*, Captain Fredericks, are both in the Bay of San Francisco, anchored off Sancelito. The *Dido*, 18, Captain Morshead, arrived at San Francisco on the 18th of last month from Vancouver's Island, and sailed on the 1st inst. under sealed orders, but supposed to be for the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, and Valparaiso. The *Monarch* is hourly expected with the admiral from Vancouver's Island. The *Amphitrite* arrived on the 21st of August from the Russian possessions of Ayan and Sitka. It will be remembered that this vessel sailed from Petropaulovski after the French and English found that place abandoned by the Russians, for the river Amoor, to join the combined French and English squadrons which had previously sailed from China to the Amoor. From the Amoor the *Amphitrite* was to have brought to the admiral at San Francisco news of the attack upon the Russian fortifications believed to be built upon that river. To our surprise, it turns out that the representations which had floated about over all the countries of the Pacific respecting these fortifications were fabulous. None such

exist; at any rate, not at the point near the mouth of the Amoor where rumour had located them. I will endeavour, from such meagre materials as I possess, to condense the *Amphitrite's* cruise. She left Petropaulovski on the 13th or 14th of June, in company with the war-steamers *Encounter* and *Barracouta*, and the man-of-war *Pique*, and arrived at Ayan on the 7th of July. Ayan is situated upon a small island off the mouth of the Amoor. It is a neat little town, containing thirty-five houses and a church, built of wood. The place was found almost deserted by its Russian inhabitants, who had left their houses and furniture in good condition. A Russian iron steamer, belonging to the government, which was found lying at Ayan, was blown up and destroyed by the crew of the *Amphitrite*. This was the only act of hostility committed; and a proclamation was issued, declaring that private property would be respected. Everything was accordingly spared except this steamer. The *Amphitrite* lay at anchor for five days in the channel leading to the entrance to the Amoor, during which period soundings were taken, from which it was found to be impossible for a ship of war or any large vessel to enter the river. It was found that there were no fortifications at the mouth of the river. From several whalers spoken by the *Amphitrite* in the Sea of Ockhotsk, it was ascertained that the English and French fleets destined for the Amoor had been fallen in with (on their way to the north) in the Gulf of Tartary, whither the two English steamers *Encounter* and *Barracouta*, and the *Pique*, sailed from the Gulf of Saghalien to join the allied fleet; and the *Amphitrite* sailed from Ayan on the 15th of July, and arrived at San Francisco on the 21st of August, as already stated. There was nothing new at Sitka, and the town was in its usual quiet state."

The weather at last became unfavourable: it was *too late* in the season to do anything, and each division of the fleet sought its respective rendezvous.

Thus 1855, like 1854, was wasted by the incompetency and impromptitude of those to whom the country's interests were committed in those waters.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE WHITE SEA.

The proceedings of the allies in the White Sea in 1855 were expected to commence much earlier than in 1854, when much time was lost, for which there was the excuse that it was the commencement of the war. The conduct of the English Admiralty was as dilatory in 1855 as in the former year. Sir James Graham was still at the head of the Admiralty when it devolved upon the board to prepare an expedition. By the end of April a squadron

was ready, which, from some cause or other, known only to the Admiralty, did not set sail until May, and did not arrive off Archangel until the month of June. The French government and marine, still more dilatory in their operations against Russia, did not dispatch a squadron until later. When the English arrived, they found that the squadron had been sent out too late; these seas had been long open, and even entirely free from ice, and the enemy and neutral states had all taken advantage of the absence of hostile cruisers to carry on trade, and to convey troops and munitions of war from one port to another. The blockade was not established until the 11th of June, at least a month too late. This blockade included all the ports and harbours in the White Sea from Point Orlofka, in long. $41^{\circ} 22'$, to Cape Kanoushin, in long. $43^{\circ} 49'$. The ports of Archangel and Onega were the especial objects of the vigilance of the allies, their commercial importance being the greatest. Indulgence was extended to all trading vessels already in those ports; and they were very numerous, the tardy procedure of the allies having encouraged the traders on these coasts to an unusual degree of enterprise. The commercial fleet in these seas which took advantage of the absence of the allied cruisers belonged to Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, German, and American ports. The English squadron was under the command of Captain Baillie; the French under that of Captain Guilbert.

During the winter the fortifications examined by the British in 1854 were strengthened; and where difficulty of access was then found, it was greatly increased by piles, stakes, rocks, sunken boats, and trading-hulks. The defence of Archangel was very ostentatious, for there could be seen in the neighbourhood a large force of Cossacks, and other light cavalry, 12,000 regular infantry, and perhaps half that number of militia. The Russians expected that early in the season a powerful naval and military demonstration would be made there by the allies. This arose from certain questions put in the British House of Commons early in the year, the answers to which were very bellicose, intimating that as soon as the White Sea was free from ice squadrons would be there, and vigorous action taken. Admiral Krushtschoff was governor of Archangel and the circumjacent province; the inhabitants reposed entire confidence in his skill and courage, so that the squadrons were regarded with more curiosity than alarm in the principal places. It does not appear that the allies attempted anything but a blockade for a month after their arrival. On the 9th of July an English steamer anchored before the village of Liamtsa, near Onega, and sent four boats with

armed parties on shore. According to the St. Petersburg press, the boats were fired upon by the peasantry, under the guidance of an old soldier, and compelled to return to the ships, which immediately opened a broadside, discharging grape and canister, while the boats, returning armed with guns and rockets, also opened a heavy fire. After three hours' cannonade, two of the boats pulled in shore. The peasantry, although only thirty-two in number, led by the priest, prevented their landing, and the boats once more retired to the ship, which again opened a formidable cannonade, throwing this time round-shot. This firing was continued all night; the next morning the vessel sheered off. Several of the men in the boats had been killed and wounded by the well-directed fire of the villagers, but only *one* of the latter was hit, and he was only slightly wounded. The Russians suffered the usual loss, only on this occasion it was not a poor Cossack, as there were none of that class at hand to receive the honour. Such is a specimen of the reports made through the St. Petersburg journals of the operations on these coasts.

The simple truth was that the *Phoenix*, cruising off these coasts, sent two boats, with a flag of truce and an interpreter, in order to obtain provisions, the villagers spoke them from the shore, consenting to traffick with the sailors, and when, unsuspecting, they were about to land, a murderous fire was opened on them. The boats were signalled to retire, and the *Phoenix*, to punish the base treachery, flung shot and rockets into the village, scattering the houses as dust. Thus everywhere—in the Euxine, the Baltic, and the White Sea—flags of truce were fired upon by the treacherous and sanguinary foe.

After this event the squadron was more active, and was less disposed to treat the enemy with leniency, various villages were burnt; timber-yards, boat-houses, small docks for building coasting-vessels, &c., were burnt and destroyed. Jack, ever generous to a manly or a helpless foe, resented with mortal antipathy the perfidy and cruelty of enticing men ashore under a flag of truce to murder them. The *Phoenix* and *Meander* were very active in searching all the creeks and bays where there was the slightest chance of discovering a ship, or boat, or any ship-building *materiel*, or government stores. During the season, the villages of Kouzoff, Shelná, Zaiatski, Megra, Solovetz, Kemi, Kollovara, and at least as many more small places were attacked, and some injury done to them. All these villages were well armed, a regular coasting navy to convey arms and ammunition having been in action while the allies were leisurely tarrying in their own ports at home, or slowly

making way to their posts of duty. The trade of those coasts was, however, effectually stopped from the arrival of the cruisers until the ice began to set in. Great injury was the result to the people of these shores, to whom the coasting-trade is vital; and so great has been the increase of late years of the commerce of Archangel and Onega with even remote countries, that the blockade was felt as a severe visitation. By means of a strict blockade upon the Russian coasts, with continued incursions of marines and light troops up the rivers and bays by which these shores are indented, an amount of chastisement could be in a few years visited upon the government through the sufferings of the people, which would make the czar feel it to be his interest and the interest of his dominions to come to terms of peace. At the close of the season the squadrons returned home, not having effected anything great, but, on the whole, a good deal that was useful. The blockade had been more rigorously maintained than in the previous year; but the captures were fewer, and of little value. The duties were not harassing to the squadrons, Jack having just sufficient excitement to arouse him, and keep him busy.

The importance of a demonstration of British power in the White Sea was not small, as from its ports Russia has long meditated a descent upon the coast of Norway. A writer, well acquainted with that sea, and the designs to which Russia wishes to make her power in it subservient, thus wrote on the subject:—"Suppose some new European convulsion, when Western Europe has home difficulties to contend with, what is there to prevent the

Russian fleet of the White Sea from securing the best harbours in Norway, and that of Cronstadt from taking possession of Gothland, instead of merely asking for it, as in 1834? This is no chimerical fear; and that the English government may not be again surprised by some audacious invasion of an unguarded point in an allied country, it may be well here to recapitulate the resources of our crafty neighbour. Russia possesses in the White Sea 400 transports, of about 15,000 tons burthen, most of them manned by sailors acquainted with every nook and cranny of the rocky coast of Finmark, as well as every shoal in the fiords. They are so constructed that they can easily be adapted to convey not only troops but artillery; and such a fleet could carry 10,000 men, with heavy guns and stores for a three months' campaign. Such an expedition might disembark anywhere between the Gulf of Waranger, at the north-eastern extremity of Finmark, and the Gulf of Drontheim, on the south-western; that is to say, along nearly 800 miles of coast, without meeting with a single military post. Russia already shows symptoms of sinister designs on the islands of Gothland and Bornholm, as well as the deep bays of Finmark. Scientific expeditions now, as in 1841, are set on foot by the Russian government, and military roads are being constructed leading towards the coveted points of Lapland. The Norwegian journal of Cromsøe complains bitterly of the number of armed boats which have come this year to Vadso, in the Bay of Waranger, perhaps to fish—perhaps to lay the foundation of some future Sebastopol—within 200 miles of the British coast."

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

JUNE BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.—THE THIRD BOMBARDMENT.—SUCCESSFUL ATTACK BY THE FRENCH UPON THE MAMELON AND THE WHITE WORKS, AND BY THE BRITISH UPON THE QUARRIES.—DESPERATE ATTEMPTS OF THE ENEMY TO RETAKE THESE POSITIONS.

"It is no time to discourse: the town is besieged, and the trumpet calls us to the breach."

SHAKSPEARE.

DURING the first week in June no incidents of importance occurred in the active prosecution of the siege until the capture of the Mamelon was attempted, and happily accomplished. The English endeavoured to throw some "earcasses" into the works of the enemy; but these means of offence had been lying for a great number of years in England before they were sent out, and were consequently useless: they were, unfortunately, so far effective as to fall and burst in the British advance trenches, killing and wounding a number of our men; Lieutenant-colonel Mundy was among the latter. Thus, in almost every cannonade, and at every step during the progress of the war, the unfaith-

fulness of the departments at home exposed our brave soldiers to unnecessary sacrifice. It was affirmed that these carcasses *had been lying in store more than half a century.*

Admiral Boxer, to whose rough energy the harbour of Balaklava was indebted for improvement, died on the 4th of cholera. His nephew, to whom he was much attached, died three days previously of the same disease, and it was believed that the shock rendered Admiral Boxer's system more susceptible to that malady.

An event occurred about this time, so utterly discreditable to certain authorities of the British army in the Crimea, that were the relation of it less worthy of credit, every generous

mind would refuse to believe it. Mr. Woods, the talented correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, was attacked with the Crimean or Tchorgoum fever (as the Russians call it), and was admitted into the Marine Hospital at Balaklava, where the persevering skill and care of Dr. Edward Derryman were the means of his recovery. Colonel Hurdle, of the marines, was also a generous benefactor of this stricken *littérateur*. After the recovery of Mr. Woods, and his return to England, Colonel Hurdle and Dr. Derryman were both severely reprimanded for allowing the correspondent of a paper into the hospital! One would suppose that any Englishman, so far from home or help, in such a deplorable condition, would find a sheltering arm in every other countryman; but the staff of the British army (not including the generals of division or brigade in the term) was composed, for the most part, of narrow-minded, prejudiced, and vindictive men, hating every liberal idea or institution, and cherishing a rancorous hostility to any one connected with the press. The neglect, blunders, callousness, and incompetency of these officers, were exposed to the country first through the instrumentality of the correspondents of the London press, and they accordingly stretched their brief authority, as it respected the literary gentlemen in the Crimea, with an eager, personal, and professional animosity, which faithful history cannot but denounce. Mr. Woods has spared the names of these tyrants who acted to him so cruel a part, although, soon after, another agent of the press was allowed to lie down and die, without any medical help, because the prohibition of these authorities prevented the gentlemen in charge of hospitals from extending assistance.

On the 6th of June the third bombardment of Sebastopol commenced. The English opened with 157 guns and mortars; the French with nearly twice as many. The English pieces were generally of larger calibre, and were more skilfully and vigorously worked, so as to be little less effective in the cannonade than the batteries of their allies. The peculiar characteristic of the fire, as compared with that of the April bombardment, was the power and number of the mortars; more than sixty large mortars vomited their shells rapidly and incessantly upon the enemy's works. The fire opened momentarily along the whole line after the discharge of a blank signal-gun, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The day was excessively warm, not a breath of air was moving, and the smoke-wreaths settled upon the embattled lines, adding to the picturesque effect of the cannonade, as the flashes of the guns were revealed through the looming volumes of smoke, like lightning through the dark clouds of a stormy sky. The Russians were as effectually taken by surprise as they were in the

second bombardment, and scarcely answered the guns of the allies for the first half-hour, and then only feebly. A large portion of the garrison had been detached to the heights overlooking the Tchernaya valley, in observation of the Sardinians and French, whom Canrobert and Marmora had led to the positions described in a former chapter. The allies in neither of the previous great cannonades directed so sustained and ponderous a shower of shot upon the Russian defences. Into the Malakoff, and still more into the Mamelon, shells poured in a constant and fiery current, slaying the garrisons of these forts, and rending everything that offered resistance to their disintegrating force. The English used their long guns with extraordinary rapidity and unprecedented certainty; every shot appeared to tell. A new trench had been cut by the Russians in front of the Redan, connecting their system of rifle-pits, of which a description was given in a previous chapter. Into the works of this trench the English sent destruction from coehorns, which they had placed in their advanced works. Great numbers of the Russian riflemen were cut to pieces in that trench. In this way the cannonade continued, until the shades of evening hid the defences from view, and then the shells were flung with unremitting fury, especially from the English batteries. As the day closed a distant thunder-storm lighted the horizon with other flashes, producing a strange effect, as if heaven and earth were warring around doomed Sebastopol. When the morning of the 7th dawned, the English long guns recommenced the murderous practice of the preceding evening, and throughout the day threw their dark missiles upon the crumbling ramparts of the enemy. The terrible Redan gave signal evidence of the success of the British artillery practice; its embrasures were broken in every direction, yet its disfigured face still looked frowning and formidable.

On the evening of the 7th the allied chiefs had resolved to storm the Mamelon. Lord Raglan had been anxious for this during the command of Canrobert, but that general would not consent to adopt so vigorous a course. Pelissier, who fell in more cordially with his lordship's plans, resolved to signalise his new command by this grand undertaking. To Lord Raglan it was a necessity, as it was impossible for him effectually to push on his works in the direction of the Redan while the Mamelon commanded the approach. Pelissier and Raglan agreed upon their plan of action at the beginning of the month; it was in brief this:—After a bombardment of two days, the White Works (which had been constructed by the Russians so early as the 27th of February), were to be stormed by the French, also some

smaller works towards Careening Bay, while the English were to force the Quarries, in front of the Redan, which were, in fact, regular works, but still called the Quarries, according to the aspect they presented when the English first broke ground near them. To this undertaking the French general of engineers was opposed, as he believed the fortress could only be subdued after a complete investment. The English engineers, on the contrary, urged the bombardment and storming of each separate work by a series of sieges, as it were, until one defence fell after another, according to their concentrative or connecting relation to one another in the defence. Pelissier, himself an engineer officer, fell in with that opinion. The principal difficulty in the way of this new undertaking was the fact that the French advanced parallels were still between 300 and 400 metres from the point to be attacked, and it must be approached under fire of certain of the enemy's batteries, unless he should be taken by surprise. A council of war was held at Sir Harry Jones's quarters, when various plans were proposed, and certain diversions in the direction of the McKenzie Heights advised. General Niel and General Jones were not of the same mind, but Pelissier, Raglan, and Jones concurred in the course to be adopted.

Another council of war was subsequently convened: the officers present were Generals Bosquet, Niel, Thiry, Lebœuf, Benret, Dalesme, Frossard, Martimprey, and Trochu, on the side of our allies; Generals Sir H. Jones, Dacres, Airey, and Colonel Adye; Major Claremont and Captain de Polignac, of the Artillery. At this council the commander-in-chief did not permit the project to be discussed, but only the *modus operandi*, and the hour. It was decided to open the bombardment on the 6th, and to storm the works on the 7th. The council were generally of opinion that shortly after dark would be the fittest time; Pelissier, Raglan, Jones, and the English artillery officers were in favour of an attack by daylight. Lord Raglan's troops preferred seeing their enemy and the work before them; Pelissier considered that the task itself could be more satisfactorily executed by daylight, whereas the consolidation of the position, if conquered, or the retreat, if vanquished, could be best conducted under the darkness of night. To this opinion, in which the English officers especially concurred, all deferred, and five o'clock on the evening of the 7th was the hour designated. The details were committed to General Bosquet, an officer to whom every description of service seemed to be equally easy, so felicitous and varied were his talents. It was the desire of Pelissier and Raglan to have the assault so conducted that the enemy might be taken by surprise. The French did not keep their own secrets well on

such occasions, and accordingly many hours before that named for the attack, the whole French army knew what was contemplated, and the English heard from their allies that a great project had been upon the *tapis*, and would that night be brought into practical force. Happily, no adventurous deserter crossed the lines with the tidings to the enemy. For a few hours before the moment appointed the cannonade of the allies was dreadful; the English smote the Redan with unintermitting fury, and a fiery deluge overwhelmed the Mamelon. Soon after five o'clock the forces designed for the assault were collected in the trenches, and a death-like stillness reigned throughout the lines, as on every point groups of officers and men were gathered to behold the terrible tournament. They spoke but little, and that little in whispers. "It was no time to discourse; the town was besieged, and the trumpet called them to the breach."

The French force was very large, and was composed of Imperial Guards, Zouaves, Indigènes, Chasseurs, and regiments of the line, which, with the reserves, made a muster of 20,000 men.

The storming party consisted of three companies, of 200 men each,—of Chasseurs, Indigènes, and Zouaves; two columns of support, amounting to 10,000 men, sustained these companies. The remainder of the French, and 3000 of Osman Pasha's Turks, remained in reserve.

Nothing was left undone by Pelissier and Bosquet to secure the success of the attack. Both officers reconnoitred the ground from the British position at different times in the evening of the 6th. Pelissier, about five o'clock that evening, proceeded to the Lancaster Battery, where he remained a considerable time; as he retired, the British soldiers issued forth from their tents, lining the way the general took, throwing their caps in the air, and shouting; the officers, catching the *furor* of the men, waved their swords. The general was deeply affected by the enthusiasm of his allies; and a French officer in the general's confidence has thus expressed himself:—"General Pelissier was much moved by this sudden and voluntary expression of respect and kindly feeling, and never mentions this episode without emotion." Meanwhile Bosquet named the second, third, fourth, and fifth divisions for the attack—all from the second *corps d'armée*.

At four o'clock on the evening of the assault Bosquet addressed each battalion as it filed passed him, and was elated by the acclamations of the gallant men in whom he reposed confidence. At half-past four the attacking columns descended into the ravines of the Careenage and Karabelnaia, which afforded them shelter both from the observation and the fire of the foe. In

the former direction the chief operations were committed to Lieutenant-colonel la Bousnière. The point of attack on the right was the White Works, which the Russians called the Volhynian and Selinghinski Redoubts; on the left the Quarries, which the English were to attack; in the centre, the main point of conflict was the *Mamelon Vert*, as our allies called it, and which the enemy named the Kamtschatka Redoubt. The two ravines above-named separated the first-named works from the Mamelon on the one side, and that work from the English point of attack on the other, so that in each case the ravine might be made a way of stealthy approach as well as of effective shelter to the French.

Near the Careening Battery Generals Mayran and Dulac drew up the third and fourth divisions; Generals Camou and Brunet, at the head of the second and third divisions, confronted the Mamelon. General Bosquet took post in the English battery called the Lancaster. The signals ascended from the British battery, and the rockets gave their fiery warning to the host which silently awaited their summons. Brigadiers Faily and Lavarande precipitated themselves upon the White Works; Brigadier-general Wimpffen advanced against the base of the Mamelon.

The former attack was the more speedily successful, although, in proportion to the time of combat, more sanguinary. The Russians were watchful at the White Works, and both the redoubts which composed them were strongly garrisoned. The advancing French were taken in flank and front by a terrible fire of artillery; and as the space over which they had to pass was very considerable, their loss was great. With cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" they scaled the redoubts, and put their defenders to the bayonet. Colonels Rose, Polkes, and Brancion greatly distinguished themselves; the latter stood alone for some moments waving the flag of France upon the parapet of one of the two redoubts, until he fell covered with wounds. Lavarande's brigade arrived in the trenches of the Careening Works a little later, but he dashed on for the other redoubt—that known to the French as the work of the 22nd of February (the other was known as the work of the 27th), of which he made a speedy but not bloodless conquest. The French eagerly pursued the enemy, who took refuge within and around a battery erected by them on the 2nd of May, to protect the head of the ravine of the Careenage. After a close conflict the battery was captured, and the guns spiked. While accomplishing this, the enemy rallied upon powerful reserves, and returned to the struggle; the French were driven back as by a hurricane, but General Mayran, descrying the first movements of the Russian supports, caught

the advancing column in flank with the bayonet, causing death and confusion, many falling prisoners into his hands. The French re-entered the redoubts, the Russians, complete fugitives, abandoning every post of defence. At this moment Lieutenant-colonel Larony d'Orion, with two battalions, emerged by the right bank from the ravine, where he had been concealed in support, and cut off the retreat of the flying enemy. Four hundred prisoners, including twelve officers, were taken, and many killed and wounded.

The grand attack was upon the Mamelon, where the defence was most obstinate, and the victory most important. About half-past five the French columns were found at the entrance to the ravine which divided the extreme right of the English from the new French positions at Inkerman. At the head of one of the French battalions was a *vivandiere*, who was on horseback, and wore a white hat and feathers. She carried, slung by her saddle, a little keg containing brandy. This lady appeared to belong to the Zouaves. Another honoured the Chasseurs by her presence; she was both handsome in features, and elegant in general appearance; she, too, was mounted, and had her little keg slung by her saddle. The bearing of these ladies was as free from alarm as if riding on a parade, notwithstanding the probability that their path would soon be strewn with the dying and dead. The troops descended the ravine, but after a short time they suddenly emerged, and rushed upon the works of the Mamelon. The Russians apprehended no attack; they were not on the *qui vive* as were their compatriots at the White Works. The French surmounted the parapets, and fired down upon the garrison, who, panic-struck, fled, but not until the Zouaves, dropping down from the parapets, or entering through the embrasures, plied the bayonet with terrible activity. The pursuit was hot, and as the Russians retreated upon the Malakoff thither the pursuers followed. It was the intention of the officers only to make a demonstration against that work, in order to give time for the engineers and sappers to turn the Mamelon to account as a temporary advanced work against the enemy; but the men, in their furious courage, attempted to scale the face of the Malakoff; many of them did so, and fired down into it, but fell dead before the superior fire of the enemy. That vast work opened the fire of all its guns, while the infantry plied their muskets through the embrasures; the space around this work was speedily strewn with its prostrate assailants, a column of the enemy instantly emerging while the French were in confusion from so irresistible a fire, pursued them in turn. The French retreated upon the Mamelon, where a shell from the

enemy exploded a magazine, shattering the whole work, and leaving it a heap of ruins. The French literally fled to their supports, leaving the track of their flight covered with their dead and wounded. Colonel de Brancion had already fallen, Lieutenant-colonel Lablane fell under the iron shower which the enemy threw upon the retreating force. General Bosquet saw all this with deep anxiety, and poured brigade after brigade to the contested point to retrieve the disaster. They advanced under a heavy fire, for now the enemy put forth all his power and vigilance. The fresh troops rushed forward, as did the former columns, and were also successful; the enemy lost all his vantage ground, and once more retreated upon the Malakoff. It was then half-past seven; the position was secured, and the setting sun shed his parting rays upon the victorious eagles of France as they were waved above the Mamelon. The engineers lost no time; the works of the Mamelon and Mount Sapoune were put into such a state as would enable them to be held against a renewed attack of the enemy. Three times during the night his columns assaulted the captured works, and were each time received by a close fire of musketry, and repulsed. The French captured 502 prisoners, and "sixty-three live bomb-shells" fell into their hands. On the following morning General Lavarande, a very young general of brigade, whose valour and skill contributed much to the victory at the White Works, was killed by a shot from the Russian batteries.

The attack upon the Mamelon would have certainly proved a failure, but for the presence of mind and vigilance of Bosquet; the rashness of the French soldiers in pursuing the enemy to the Malakoff endangered the whole of the operations. This they did contrary to an order of the day from General Pelissier, forbidding any attempt to carry any other work than those upon which the assault was directed. "The enemy," wrote the general-in-chief on the 9th of June, "has only made ineffectual demonstrations against the conquered works. He has abandoned the battery called the 2nd of May; he has also completely abandoned to us the right bank of the Careening Bay; and the vessels in the harbour take shelter in Artillery Bay, where, nevertheless, our heavy shells can reach them."

While the French were thus signally engaged, and signally successful, the British performed their part with their accustomed heroism. Detachments from the light and second* divisions, not exceeding 1000 men, were directed against the Quarries. The plan

was to conquer the works so-called, and then advancing towards the Redan, find shelter, and keep up a fire which would engage the attention of the enemy while a body of 800 men, with picks and shovels, threw up a parapet towards the city, thus turning the Quarries into an advanced work of the English. The British rushed forth against the enemy's works in their usual style, and the enemy fled without firing a shot, or feeling the point of the bayonet. The British then advanced towards the Redan, and, encountering no opposition, pressed on and entered the Redan, which they found without defenders, the garrison having gone to assist in the defence of the Malakoff. The soldiery were afterwards much discontented that the Redan was not occupied; they did not understand how completely it was commanded by the guns of the Malakoff. Eventually the Russians returned to the Redan, and attacked the British, who fell back with loss upon the conquered Quarries. The obstinate reluctance of the British to retire before the superior force which pressed upon them, and their impression that the Redan might have been retained, cost many valuable lives, some of our officers having fallen within that work itself. The Russians, increasing in numbers, advanced to retake the Quarries; but the English reserves coming up, they were driven back with slaughter upon the Redan. Six times during the night the Russians renewed their attack upon the Quarries, so anxious were they to reconquer the post; but although the English were few in number, they defended it with the most enduring courage, and when morning dawned they were the victors. Considerable anxiety was felt for their safety, as throughout the short night the flashes of musketry could be seen. "Sometimes," says Colonel Hamley, "a bugle sounded shrilly in the still night; once or twice there was a cheer; and these sounds and the rattle of the small arms showed the chief part of the combat in which so many of our comrades and friends were darkly engaged. Sometimes the sounds of strife died away, and then were renewed. These sudden outbursts marked the onsets of the Russians. Towards morning they advanced on our trenches, and penetrated into some of the approaches, but were driven out without loss. The next morning the Russian works, beaten into mere heaps, were almost silent, firing only an occasional shot." The English report of casualties up to ten o'clock on the morning of the 8th was 50 killed, and 270 wounded. The 7th Royal Fusileers (commonly called the "Flying Horse," from having worn that insignia on their caps) and the 88th, or Connaught Rangers, were the regiments which bore the brunt of the baffled efforts of the Muscovites, and these two corps had the heaviest loss; but the

* The Baron de Bazancourt says, "of the 2nd regiment of the line." That is a mistake; the 2nd regiment of British infantry was not in the Crimea.

losses of the British from three o'clock on the 6th to ten in the morning of the 8th, was 11 officers and 112 men killed, 30 officers and 522 men wounded. The French had 1700 men killed and wounded; the Russians 2000, exclusive of those lost in the struggles on the evening of the 7th and the night which followed.

Mr. Stowe relates the following incident connected with the conflict:—"Among other illustrations of character which came out during the recent struggle, it may be told that one of our sailor artillerymen being desired to keep under cover, and not put his head out to tempt a rifle bullet, grumbled at the prohibition, saying to his comrades loud enough to be overheard, 'I say, Jack, they wont let a fellow go and look where his own shot is: we ain't afraid, we ain't; that's what I call hard lines.' It is due to Lance-corporal Quin, of the 47th, to make public the bravery which he last night exhibited, and which has already brought him under the notice of General Pennecfather. In one of the attacks made by the enemy on the Quarries, after they were in our possession, the Russians experienced some difficulty in bringing their men again to the scratch. At length one Russian officer succeeded in bringing on four men, which Corporal Quin perceiving, he made a dash out of the work, and with the butt-end of his musket brained one, bayoneted a second, and the other two taking to their heels, he brought in the officer a prisoner, having administered to him a gentle prick by way of quickening his movements. After delivering him up, he suggested to his comrades that there were plenty more to be had."

The same writer thus describes the scenes which met his eye the morning after the battle:—"The ammunition waggons, the ambulance carts, the French mules, with their panniers full freighted, thronged the ravine below our light division, which is the straight—or rather the crooked—road down to the attack on the right. Troops of wounded men came slowly up, some English, the greater portion French, begrimed with the soil of battle. On the left a party of Zouaves had stopped awhile to rest their burden, it being the dead bodies of three of their officers. A little lower an English soldier was down on the grass exhausted, and well-nigh unconscious from some sudden seizure. A party of French were gathered round him, supporting him on the bank, and offering water from their canteens, which he wildly motioned aside. On the right, lining a deep bay in the gorge, was dotted over a mile of ground a French reserve with their muskets piled, attending the signal to move forward. They were partially within view of the Malakoff, and the round-shot and shell came plumping down into the hollow, produc-

ing every minute or so little commotions of the *saute qui peut* order, replaced the next moment by the accustomed nonchalance, and the crack of stale charges, fired off by way of precaution. A lively and even pretty *vivandiere* came striding up the ascent, without a symptom of acknowledgment to the racing masses of iron, and smiling as if the honour of her corps had been properly maintained. At ten o'clock the little incidents of the halting war perceptible through the telescope from the crown of the hill below the picquet-house were these:—At the head of the harbour the Russians were busily engaged burying their dead; outside the abattis of the Round Tower several corpses of Zouaves were to be distinguished; about the Mamelon the French troops were hard at work, some of them stripped, for coolness, to their drawers, and were seen creeping down the declivity on the side towards the Malakoff, and making themselves a deep shelter from its fire. Our people, meanwhile, on the right attack, were calmly shelling the Malakoff in a cool matter-of-business sort of way; but the eternal gun on its right, which has been endowed with nine months of strange vitality, launched an indirect response into the Mamelon. From after eleven o'clock the Russians, as usual, slackened fire, nor was there any duel of artillery on a great scale until after dark. Lord Raglan in the afternoon went round the hospitals, and many a procession crossed the plain bearing some officer's body to its resting-place. Our loss in officers killed has been great. The 88th have been the severest sufferers, having three officers killed, one missing and conjectured to be killed, and four wounded—all, indeed, who were engaged. The four senior officers of the 62nd were put *hors de combat*."

The following despatches, relating to the operations before Sebastopol up to the 9th, were sent home by Lord Raglan. The first of these was written on June the 5th:—

"I have the honour to inclose a letter from the inspector-general of hospitals, forwarding the weekly state of the sick of the army. The cholera has sensibly diminished in the camps before Sebastopol; but it has attacked the Guards and the 31st regiment, near Balaklava, and some of the new batteries, as well as the followers of the army in that town. It is hoped that the disease will pass from them as it has from the stations where it first appeared. I am grieved to have to say that it has fallen heavily on the Sardinian contingent, and that General La Marmora is in great anxiety about it. I am rendering him all the assistance in my power. While writing to your lordship, an officer has brought me a letter from him, announcing that his brother, General La Mar-

mora, who commands his second division, has been very severely attacked. He has been accommodated with a quarter at Kadikoi, and every attention shall be paid him."

The following bears date June the 9th:—

"I have the great satisfaction of informing your lordship that the assault which was made upon the Quarries in front of the Redan, from our advanced parallel in the right attack, on the evening of the 7th inst., was attended with perfect success; and that the brave men who achieved this advantage, with a gallantry and determination that does them infinite honour, maintained themselves on the ground they had acquired, notwithstanding that during the night, and in the morning of yesterday, the enemy made repeated attempts to drive them out, each attempt ending in failure, although supported by large bodies of troops, and by heavy discharges of musketry, and every species of offensive missile. The French on our right had shortly before moved out of their trenches and attacked the *Ouvrages Blancs* and the Mamelon. These they carried without the smallest check, and their leading column rushed forward and approached the Malakoff Tower; but this it had not been in contemplation to assail, and the troops were brought back and finally established in the enemy's works, from which the latter did not succeed in expelling them, though the fire of musketry and cannon which was brought to bear upon them was tremendous. I never saw anything more spirited and rapid than the advance of our allies. I am happy to say that the best feeling prevails between the two armies, and each is proud of and confident in the gallantry and high military qualities of the other. I apprised your lordship, by telegraph on the 6th, that our batteries reopened that afternoon. The fire was kept up with the greatest energy until the day closed, when it was confined to vertical fire; but the next morning the guns resumed the work of destruction, and the effect was such that it was determined by General Pelissier and myself that the time had arrived for pushing our operations forward. Accordingly, soon after six o'clock on the evening of the 7th, the signal was given for the assault of the works I have enumerated, and the result was most triumphant. The troops employed in storming the Quarries were composed of detachments from the light and second divisions, and at night they were supported by the 62nd regiment. The command of these troops was intrusted to Colonel Shirley, of the 88th, who was acting as general officer of the trenches, and he was assisted in the arrangements, and guided as to the points of attack and distribution of the troops by Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers, the directing engineer officer

of the right attack. Although nothing could be more spirited than the attack of the Quarries, or more creditable to every officer and man engaged in the operation, yet I cannot refrain from drawing your lordship's especial attention to the energy and determination which they all displayed in maintaining and establishing themselves after their first success in them. They were repeatedly attacked during the night, and again soon after daylight on the 8th, and it was in resisting these repeated efforts on the part of the enemy that a great portion of the heavy loss the army has to deplore was sustained. The mode in which Colonel Shirley conducted this very arduous service, and carried out his orders, entitles him to my highest commendation. I have great pleasure in mentioning the following officers, who are stated to have distinguished themselves on the occasion, viz.—Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 90th, who commanded the storming-party; Major Mills, Royal Fusileers; Major Villiers, 47th; Major Armstrong, 49th, who are all severely wounded; Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, of the 88th; Major Bayley, of the same regiment, who was unfortunately killed; Lieutenant-colonel Grant, 49th; Major Simpson, of the 34th; Lieutenant-colonel Johnstone, of the 33rd; Major Herbert, of the 23rd; Captain Lowry, of the 47th; Captain Turner, of the 7th; Captain Lowndes, of the 47th; Captain Nason, of the 49th; Captain Le Marchant, of the 49th, who was wounded; Captain Wolseley, 90th; and lieutenants Chatfield and Eustace, of the 49th; and Palmer, Irby, and Waddilove, of the 47th; and Captain Hunter, 47th; and Lance-corporal Quim, 47th, who took a Russian officer prisoner in the most gallant manner. I also feel it my duty to solicit your lordship's notice to the eminent services of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers; he has been indefatigable in the discharge of his peculiar duties from the commencement of the siege, and he has always been at hand to aid in the repulse of the enemy when they have assaulted our trenches. He eulogises the conduct of Captain Browne, of the Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Elphinstone, of the same corps; Lieutenant Anderson, 96th foot (acting engineer), who is wounded; and he laments the death of Lieutenant Lowry, R.E., who conducted the storming-party, and was afterwards killed by a cannon-shot. Notwithstanding the frequency of the endeavours of the Russians to regain possession of the Quarries, and the interruptions to the work to which these attacks gave rise, Lieutenant-colonel Tylden was enabled to effect the lodgment, and to establish the communication with the advanced parallel, and this redounds greatly to his credit and that of the officers and men employed as the working-party; and I cannot

omit this opportunity to express my approbation of the conduct of the Sappers throughout the operations. The exertions of the Royal Artillery, under Brigadier-general Daeres, and those of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Lushington, R.N., in serving the guns, cannot be too warmly commended. The accuracy of their fire is the theme of universal admiration, and the constancy with which they applied themselves to their arduous duties under all circumstances, however dangerous, cannot be too strongly placed upon record. It is deeply to be lamented that this success should have entailed so heavy a loss as is shown in the accompanying returns, which, however, are still incomplete; but I have the assurance of the principal medical officer that many of the wounds are slight, and that by far the greater portion of the sufferers are progressing most favourably. I have just learnt that the enemy have abandoned a work in the rear of the *Ouvrages Blancs*, which they constructed at the commencement of the month of May. The French took possession of it on the 7th, but

did not retain it. In the other works they captured sixty-two pieces of artillery, and they have fourteen officers and about 400 men prisoners. We have a few prisoners, and among them a captain of infantry, who was wounded, and taken by Corporal Quin of the 47th regiment."

On June the 8th he wrote as follows :—

"I have the honour to inclose a letter from Dr. Hall, inspector-general of hospitals, inclosing a return of the casualties, so far as they had been ascertained when he visited the hospitals yesterday morning, which took place in the attack and continued occupation of the Quarries on the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th. I visited most of the wounded yesterday, and was much pleased with the attention of the medical officers to the sufferers, and with the patience and resignation of the latter; and I am happy to say, while there are some very serious cases, the greater portion has every prospect of recovery, and many of the wounds are slight."

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

SECOND EXPEDITION TO KERTCH.

"Our ship now goes with a pleasant gale,
Give it to her, boys, now give it her!
For she's the craft to carry sail,
Give it to her, boys, now give it her!"—*Sea Song.*

On the 22nd of May the second Kertch expedition departed. On the morning of the 24th the flotilla doubled Cape Takli, where a sinuosity of the coast presented a good place for landing; this place was called Kamich Bay. The lighthouse of the cape was the appointed rendezvous. On the right lay the island of Taman; further northward the fortified point of Ak Bournou and the citadel of Yenikale formed the extremity of the deep bay, where the ancient town of Kertch displayed its spires, and seemed as if War never rolled his dark cloud above it. Admiral Bruat, in his despatch to the French minister of marine, thus describes the approach of the fleet :—"On the 24th of May, at daybreak, the two squadrons were assembled at the place of rendezvous, twelve miles to the south of Cape Takli. The boats, barges, and paddle-box boats were launched, and the steamers ranged themselves in line, and took their course towards the bay, which is formed by the low point of Kamich, as it extends towards the east. All arrangements had been made for throwing on shore, by a single operation, at least 3000 infantry, who were to be strongly supported by three pieces of artillery, and the half of a rocket-party."

As soon as the fleet came in sight, the Cosack videttes along the coast gave the alarm; the enemy had not sufficient force to resist, and therefore retired; the boats immediately landed the detachment. By half-past three o'clock in the afternoon all the allied troops were landed. Before the Russians retired, they blew up all their batteries, and ruined the defences. Scarcely had the troops begun to land, when dense columns of smoke ascended from Ak-Bournou, which were succeeded by repeated explosions.

The steamers of the two fleets passed through the strait and entered the Sea of Azoff, where a large fleet of merchant coasters of that sea were crowding all sail to escape capture. The wind and current were against them, even if they could have otherwise had any hope of escaping the steamers. The gun and mortar-boats, and other light vessels belonging to the allies, pursued and made prizes of many barques, brigs, schooners, and other small craft of various designations. A Russian steamer of war rushed out of the Bay of Kertch, and made for Yenikale; she was pursued by a gun-boat, gave battle but for a moment, and again sheered off. Another came to her assistance; the con-

sort of the gun-boat also arrived, and continued the pursuit. Batteries on various sand-banks opened on both; reinforcements of British and French steamers silenced the batteries, and the pursuit was sustained by the vicious little gun-boats, until the enemy, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered.

Where the allies landed, provisions of every kind were found in abundance, to which they helped themselves, and where any opposition was offered the farm-houses were given to the flames. The proceedings of the troops were not creditable; the private property of un-offending farmers was taken or most wantonly destroyed, and quiet homesteads were reduced to ashes. The men seemed roused to vengeance by the treachery and vindictiveness which the Russians had hitherto shown in the war.

The retreat of the enemy was for the purpose of choosing a more efficient line of defence. They hoped to be able to make the old Turkish castle at Yenikale tenable; it was solidly built and very strong. Gun-boats, some small vessels of war, and floating-batteries increased the defence in an imposing manner. The allies directed their attention at once to this place. The *Fulton* British steamer opened fire, supported by others, and the cannonade was returned. Soon, however, the defences suddenly became silent; the old fortress on the instant was wrapped in a column of flame; and a shock produced by an explosion was felt far out at sea, so that vessels three miles off were shaken by the concussion of the waters around them. The enemy at the same moment retreated from the town. The allied troops advanced upon it, and passed by Kertch and partly through it at early dawn, and before mid-day entered Yenikale without opposition. A letter was found, which had been written by Prince Gortschakoff to General Wrangel, informing him that the reinforcements he demanded could not be sent, and ordering him to evacuate the neighbourhood and bring all his cavalry to Sebastopol.

The rapid and easy conquest of these places need excite no surprise, when the powerful forces sent into these parts is considered. Independent of the troops already referred to, and who were so apportioned from different arms of the military service as to constitute a very complete although small army, the naval armament was overwhelming. The admirals had under their command the following ships. Sir Edmund Lyons, with his second in command, Admiral Stewart, had at their disposal the *Royal Albert*, *Hannibal*, *Algiers*, *Agamemnon*, *St. Jean d'Acre*, *Princess Royal*, *Sidon*, *Valorous*, *Leopard*, *Tribune*, *Simoom*, *Furious*, *Hightflyer*, *Terrible*, *Caradoc*, *Sphinx*, *Spitfire*, *Gladiator*, and *Banshee*. The French fleet, under Admiral Bruat, comprised the *Montebello*, *Napoléon*, and *Charlemagne*, men-of-war; the

Pomone, *Caffarelli*, *Mogador*, *Cacique*, *Descartes*, *Asmodée*, and *Ulloa*, steam-frigates; the *Vélocé*, *Primauguet*, *Phlégethon*, *Berthollet*, *Roland*, and *Caton*, steam-corvettes; the *Lucifer*, *Mégère*, *Milan*, *Brandon*, *Fulton*, and *Dauphin* steam-sloops; the *Vandour* steam mortar-boat, and a few other vessels—the troops being distributed among the various ships. Besides the above there was a flying squadron, consisting of a few very small French steamers, and the following British vessels of light draught—the *Miranda*, *Vesuvius*, *Stromboli*, *Medina*, *Ardent*, *Arrow*, *Beagle*, *Lynx*, *Snake*, *Swallow*, *Viper*, *Wrangler*, and *Curlaw*, the whole under the command of Captain Lyons, son of the admiral, who hoisted his flag on the *Miranda*. Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and the French General d'Antemarre, who commanded the troops, were officers signalised by their promptitude and daring, and this the enemy well knew. The troops who accompanied them were also known to the enemy to be very fine corps. The 19th, 26th, 39th, and 74th French regiments of the line, and the 8th and 14th battalions *chasseurs-à-pied*. The British were the 42nd, 71st, 79th, and 93rd regiments—a splendid body of troops. Means of land transport, as well as of marine transport, were well provided. Engineers, sappers and miners, with abundance of material for throwing up defences, were also conveyed with the expedition. The whole fleet amounted to sixty ships of war. When they arrived off Kertch it was the queen's birthday, and the ships were therefore gaily hung with flags. The loyal feelings of the British, and the courteous manner with which their allies regarded that loyalty and respected the day itself, gave an air of alacrity and enthusiasm to every movement of the men of both fleets and armies.

The march to Yenikale, on the 25th, was like a holiday affair; the spirit of the soldiery was exuberant of joy, although the weather was oppressively hot, and there was no water; some suffered severely from these causes. The inhabitants of Kertch at first remained, confiding in the honour of the invaders; at Yenikale, not only did the garrison retire, but the inhabitants also—terrible tidings of rapacity and violence had reached them. Their fears were well founded, for very soon their own town was plundered of everything movable, and the ships of war were receptacles for the plundered property. General d'Antemarre made his headquarters at Kertch, and, on examination of the authorities and perusal of documents, it was discovered that General Wrangel had commanded 6000 troops in Kertch and its vicinity, and on resolving to abandon the place had consumed the granaries and provision stores from which the army at Sebastopol had received constant supplies. He destroyed half a mil-

lion pounds weight of flour, and nearly four millions and a quarter pounds weight of corn, chiefly wheat. The only danger incurred by the fleet was from the narrowness of the straits, and from infernal machines placed in them, which were connected with the shore by galvanic wires. The courage of the Russians evaporated too quickly to allow them to fire "the infernals." The land batteries, or strand batteries, as they may be with stricter propriety called, offered but little mischief, and that to the gun-boats only.

In Mr. Wyld's map of the country between Anapa and Kassa, including Kertch and Arabat, there is a plan of the attack on Kertch and Yenikale, by Lieutenant Bingham, of her majesty's ship *Terrible*, which shows at a glance the skill and facility with which the enterprise was conducted. The number of troops under Wrangel, although considerable, were not sufficient, even with the utmost zeal and bravery on the part of the inhabitants, to offer any effectual resistance; besides, with the exception of the cavalry, the troops were of inferior quality, the infantry being mostly raw militia, and the artillery engineers, &c., pensioners and retired veterans, who were all *hors d'age*. "Discretion was the better part of valour," and the enemy practised it to advantage, destroying what they could not carry away, leaving, as they thought, a barren victory to their foes. This was not so, however, for at Kertch no less than 17,000 tons of coals were stored, which the enemy failed to set on fire, and this useful capture supplied the steamers of the fleet with fuel. The importance of the conquest of this town may be judged of by the reader from a single circumstance discovered by the allies after their occupation. For several days previous to the capture, General Wrangel had sent 1500 waggons, each loaded with half a ton weight of flour or grain, to the army in other parts of the Crimea, especially at Sebastopol.

It is to be regretted that the French general in command of the place allowed the soldiers to plunder not only the houses, but the persons of the inhabitants. It is true that these discreditable acts were chiefly perpetrated by Turks, and by the Tartars their friends, who cordially united with them in hatred to the Russians; but these excesses could not occur unknown to the general, and they were not repressed until his garrison had disgraced itself. The respectable inhabitants, filled with terror, fled.

Sir George Brown made Yenikale his headquarters; and when he found that similar deeds were being enacted, he issued an order of the day, stern in its severity, and took steps to arrest and flog any soldier found aiding in any way the scandalous outrages.

The French general captured in the neighbourhood of Kertch 250 oxen, and as many sheep, half of which he presented to the fleets. At the same time a foundry was destroyed, in which shot, shell, and Minié balls, were manufactured; and it is to be regretted that the proprietor was an Englishman: he was arrested.

Our readers will regard with curiosity the light in which these successes of the allies were placed by the enemy, always so dextrous in glossing over defeat, and pretending that victory crowned his arms when he sustained signal discomfiture. In this instance he preserved some truthfulness. The following is a translation of the report addressed to Prince Gortschakoff by Lieutenant-general Baron Wrangel, commanding the troops in the eastern district of the Crimea:—

"On the morning of the 24th of May the enemy's fleet, of seventy vessels, appeared in the Strait of Kertch. On account of the fog, it was not observed till it was abreast of the lighthouse of Takli. Later, I received a report from the commandant of Theodosia, announcing the passing of a large hostile squadron making for Kertch, and information from Aide-de-camp General de Kotzebue that about seventy vessels had left Sebastopol with 25,000 of the enemy's troops. The enemy, who was soon abreast of the village of Kamich-Bourno, brought to with his larger ships out of reach of the Paul Battery, and ran in his steamers and gun-boats close to shore, and then proceeded immediately to land his forces under the protection of the fire of his ships. Whilst this was going on, one of his gun-boats ran in close to the battery, but being received with a round of cannon-shot, soon got out of reach again. In the meantime the assailants had disembarked six columns of infantry, who advanced in the rear of the battery. Yielding to the decided superiority in number, the troops defending it spiked the guns, and retreated in the direction of the post-station of Soultanovka, after having destroyed all the munitions of war.

"The enemy then, with a part of his steamers, rapidly advanced into Kertch Bay. Seeing the evident impossibility of resisting this attack, I gave orders for the immediate destruction of the depots of flour and forage situate at Kertch, and also for that of the vessels that might fall into the enemy's hands. In consequence, there were burnt—the war-steamer *Mogoutchy*, which was under repair, and with her machinery out, and the private steamers *Berdiansk* and *Donets*. I do not know what became of the steamer *Argonaut*, except that she succeeded in doubling the cape.

"The fortifications of Kertch and Yenikale kept up till evening a well-sustained and very successful fire against the enemy's steamers, which were proceeding towards the Strait of Yenikale. It was not till night that attention was turned to rendering the cannon unserviceable, and to the destruction of whatever might fall into the enemy's hands, which being done, the garrison left the fortifications, under favour of the darkness.

"All the troops at Kertch and Yenikale effected their retreat with the most trifling loss. I have learnt that the garrison defending Yenikale was obliged to follow not the road to the Sultanovka post, but a parallel road on the right, and nearer the Sea of Azoff.

"I have arrived to-day at the village of Arguine, where all the detachment is concentrated, and where it will be joined by the regiment of hussars of the Grand-duke of Saxony, the regiment of dragoons of Prince Emilius of Hesse, and No. 26 battery of horse-artillery. It was impossible for me to halt nearer to Kertch, on account of the want of water in that part of the country, and also to be able to furnish assistance to Theodosia, in case the enemy should determine to attempt anything against that town. When I have received reinforcements I shall act as circumstances may require."

The following despatch, written by the vigorous pen of Admiral Bruat, gives a clear and succinct account of what was accomplished at Kertch and Yenikale. It was dated the 26th of May, from the *Montebello*, before Kertch, and was addressed to the French minister of marine:—

"As I had the honour to inform you by my telegraphic despatches of the 22nd and 25th of May, a new expedition to Kertch was resolved upon on the 20th. The embarkation commenced on the evening of the 21st; the expedition sailed on the 23rd; it landed on the 24th at Kamich-Bourno; and on the 25th occupied Yenikale, having passed Kertch, and taken possession of the batteries situated in the vicinity of Ak-Bourno. On the 25th, Admiral Lyons and myself entered the Sea of Azoff, whence we sent a squadron to Berdiansk and Arabat. It left during the night, and consisted of four French steamers, and ten English steamers, some of which are gun-boats.

"The complete success of this expedition, where our troops, led with great decision by General d'Autemarre, displayed their usual ardour, is also due to the rapidity of its execution. In this respect I must acquaint your excellency how complete and cordial, under all circumstances, the co-operation of Admiral Lyons has been.

"On the very day we cast anchor, the landing of the French troops commenced in order, under the direction of Captain Jurien de la Gravière, of the navy, the chief of my staff.

"Having assured myself of the promptitude with which the landing of the troops was effected, I hoisted my flag on board the *Laplace*, and proceeded to reconnoitre the batteries of Cape Ak-Bourno, the powder-magazine of which the Russians had already blown up. Perceiving they would be turned, the enemy lost no time in blowing up the others, and evacuating their positions. Shortly afterwards an English gun-boat, of a light draught of water, made for Yenikale, to cut out a Russian steamer which had left Kertch, and was trying to gain the Sea of Azoff. A sharp encounter soon commenced between the two vessels, in which the batteries of Yenikale took part. I ordered the *Pulton* to hasten to the aid of the gun-boat, which arrived with all speed at the scene of combat, and had to withstand a very heavy fire. I ordered the *Megère* to support her, and Admiral Lyons, on his part, also ordered succour to be given to the gun-boat. Nevertheless the enemy's steamer, which we knew had the treasury of Kertch on board, escaped, leaving in our hands two barges containing precious objects and a portion of the military and civil archives. But the confusion of the Russians, attacked unexpectedly by land and sea, became so great, that they soon relinquished all thoughts of further resistance, and did not even take care to remove the wounded from Sebastopol, who were in the hospital of the citadel. In the course of the day they had set fire to considerable store-houses they possessed at Kertch. Finally, before evacuating Yenikale, they blew up a powder-magazine, containing about 30,000 kilogrammes of powder; the shock was so great, that many houses were destroyed, and vessels anchored ten miles out at sea felt it severely. To sum up, the enemy has lost up to the present—160,000 sacks of oats, 360,000 sacks of corn, 100,000 sacks of flour. A carriage-factory and a foundry were burnt down; three steamers, one of which was a war-steamer, were sunk by the Russians themselves. Some thirty transport ships were destroyed, and at least as many taken. In the different explosions about 100,000 kilogrammes of powder were destroyed. A great store of shells and cannon-balls no longer exists.

"I shall send your excellency later a statement of the condition of the guns which have fallen into our hands. They are sixty or eighty in number. These guns are highly finished, and of large calibre."

The British admiral's despatch was not so full as that of Admiral Bruat, but it contained

the report of Lieutenant M'Killop, who, for his spirited and efficient conduct, was made a commander. Admiral Lyons wrote from on board the *Royal Albert*, in the straits, on the 2nd of June.

"In my letter of the 26th ult., I stated that we had captured fifty of the enemy's guns. It now appears that more than 100 guns have fallen into our hands in the different sea defences, many of them of heavy calibre, and remarkably well cast. Those which may not be required for the land defences which the allied armies are now constructing, will be shipped and sent to England and France.

"It has been ascertained from the Custom-house returns, that the enemy on evacuating Kertch, on the 24th ultimo, destroyed 4,166,000 lbs. of corn, and 508,000 lbs. of flour. This quantity, taken together with what has been destroyed by the allied squadron in the Sea of Azoff, comprises nearly four months' rations for an army of 100,000 men; and it seems that, shortly before our arrival, the enemy had commenced sending towards Sebastopol daily convoys of about 1500 wag-gons, each containing half a ton weight of grain or flour.

"Sir George Brown confidently expects that by the 7th inst. Yenikale will be in such a state of defence as fully to justify his leaving it in charge of the Ottoman troops now here, under the command of Hadji Reschid Pasha, and that the British and French forces will be at liberty to proceed to the attack of Anapa and Soujuk-Kaleh, in order to drive the enemy out of his last holds on the coast of Circassia."

The following is the official account of the actions with Russian steamers, given by Mr. M'Killop, of her majesty's ship *Snake*, off Yenikale. It was dated the 4th of May:—

"I have the honour to inform you that in obedience to your signal granting me permission to intercept a Russian war-steamer, that I proceeded into Kertch Bay, exchanging shots with the batteries at Ak-Bourno in passing. I succeeded in cutting off the steamer and engaging her, but not until she had placed herself under the protection of the forts of Yenikale. After a sharp fire on both sides for three quarters of an hour, I was fortunate in succeeding in setting her on fire with Lancaster shells, from which she blew up—the crew with difficulty getting away. She had apparently soldiers on board. During this engagement the forts at Yenikale hulled the ship, and kept up a well-directed and continuous fire the whole time, which was returned with apparently good effect with our heavy shell.

"Three steamers also came down from the entrance (to the Sea of Azoff), and opened fire on us with very long-range guns, their shot

frequently passing over us at about 4000 yards. I continued to engage the batteries and steamers after the arrival of the ships sent up to my assistance, until recalled by signal from the *Miranda*.

"The whole of the sailing vessels standing towards the Sea of Azoff were intercepted, and afterwards captured; two steamers, also intercepted in Kertch Bay, were blown up by their own crews, and a gun-boat sunk. The batteries along the coast, which fired upon us while chasing the steamer, also were blown up.

"I should feel I was neglecting my duty unless I mentioned the zealous and creditable manner in which the officers and crew performed their duties; being very short-handed, rendered working the guns for so many hours a work of great labour. I beg to recommend, for your favourable consideration, Mr. N. B. Herbert (Second Master in charge), who with much skill conducted the ship through the intricate and comparatively unknown passage, under the guns of Ak-Bourno, and inside the shoal of Yenikale, without any accident. I am equally indebted to Mr. Sydney E. Wright, assistant-paymaster (an officer of long and meritorious service), for his assistance as a volunteer executive, who, with Dr. Roche and Mr. George Wilson (senior engineer), manned and worked the 12-pounder howitzer, sinking a gun-boat.

"I am happy that no casualties occurred, and the *Snake* received but little damage—one shot through the mizen-rigging carrying it away, and one through the hull at the water-line."

Lord Raglan's despatch, like that of Admiral Lyons, was only interesting for its inclosure, the report of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown. The brave old man wrote as well as he made war. Everything he undertook was completely performed, from a drill to a battle, from an order of the day about wearing stocks to the conduct of a separate corps of the army. His report to Lord Raglan was written not only with military perspicacity but with picturesque effect. Lord Raglan's letter was as follows:—

"Sir Edmund Lyons' telegraphic despatch of the 25th, which was forwarded from hence on the morning of the 27th, and one from me that immediately followed, will have informed your lordship that the allied expedition to Kertch reached its destination on the morning of the 24th, and the troops having landed without delay, and the war-steamers drawing little water having pushed on towards Kertch and Yenikale, that all the objects in contemplation were accomplished in twenty-four hours, without any resistance on the part of the enemy, who blew up the fortifications on

both sides of the passage and retired, thus leaving us masters of the Sea of Azoff, to be speedily occupied by a French and English flotilla.

"I have now the honour to lay before you a copy of the report of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, commanding the allied troops, and in congratulating your lordship, which I do most cordially, on the complete success of the operation, I have the greatest satisfaction in drawing your attention to the promptitude with which the disembarkation was effected; to the efficient measures taken by the lieutenant-general to insure his position and attain the objects in view; and to the just tribute which he pays in his interesting narrative to the judicious arrangements of Admirals Bruat and Sir E. Lyons; and to the zeal and energy displayed by the officers and men of the allied fleets in carrying them out under their vigilant superintendence, as well as to the cordial co-operation and assistance of General d'Autemarre, commanding the French division, and Reschid Pasha, commanding the Turkish troops."

The following is General Brown's report:—

"The expedition to this place so far has proved entirely successful, and we have got possession of all we proposed without striking a blow, and almost without firing a shot.

"On leaving the anchorage of Sebastopol, on the 22nd, the night came so foggy that the fleet made but little progress towards its destination, but the whole of the ships and steamers reached the rendezvous, four leagues off Cape Takli, soon after daylight on the morning of the 24th, when it was speedily determined to run at once in for the spot at which, as your lordship is aware, it was originally proposed to disembark, and which is a fine smooth bay, round a low point running out immediately under the village of Kazatch-Bourno.

"The water in the straits is so shallow, that large ships cannot ascend higher than about three miles from this spot; but the steamers and vessels in which the whole of the British infantry and artillery were embarked could get at least a mile nearer to it. All the vessels got as high up as the depth of water would permit, and came to an anchor about eleven, when the English and French troops began to get into the boats; and small steamers, which were assigned to them, towed them to the shore, and the gun-boats and smaller war-steamers were stationed to scour the beach, and protect the disembarkation. Although we had observed some six or eight pieces of light artillery following us along the shore, no opposition was made to the disembarkation, and the first of the troops reached the shore at ten o'clock, which, as soon as they were formed, were pushed on

to occupy the village on the rising ground bordering the marshy plain, on which they landed for the purpose of covering the remainder of the disembarkation. As they were the most numerous, and as your lordship had done so on a former occasion, I placed the French on the right, and the British troops on the left, intending to hold the Turkish contingent in reserve. Soon after the disembarkation had commenced, several loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that the enemy had blown up the magazines of all his batteries on Cape St. Paul, and was retreating by the road leading to Theodosia or Kaffa. It therefore became exceedingly desirable that I should advance to the ridge of which the cape is the continuation; but as only a few of the Turkish troops had yet landed, and but little of the artillery, I contented myself by requesting General d'Autemarre to patrol to the cape and towards Kertch, and took up the best position I could find for the security of the troops, and the protection of the disembarkation of all the necessary *matériel* and horses during the night, just before dark, which, in an open steppe, where we were exposed to the attacks of cavalry, was an operation of some difficulty.

"In the course of the evening several more loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that he had also blown up and abandoned the whole of his works here, and along the coast between this and Kertch, and spiked all the guns. He had also set fire to and destroyed some large corn-magazines in Kertch, as well as two steamers in the harbour; and the Cossacks, as usual, burnt all the forage and farm-houses in their way.

"As soon as the batteries on Cape St. Paul were abandoned, or soon before, some of the smaller war-steamers were enabled to round Cape Ak-Bourno, and enter the Bay of Kertch, when they engaged and endeavoured to cut off some of the enemy's steamers attempting to escape into the Sea of Azoff. They succeeded, I believe, in capturing a small one, but the other two managed to get through.

"The disembarkation of horses, guns, and *matériel* went on during the whole night, under the zealous and active superintendence of Rear-admiral Houston Stewart and Captain Sir Thomas Pasley; but, with all this, there was a good deal to be done at daylight this morning, and I was ultimately compelled to proceed with only three of the guns of the Turkish contingent, and without any of their officers' horses. Under the circumstances, however, I considered it imperative to proceed, and the whole force marched off this ground at six this morning, the French in contiguous columns, followed by their artillery; the British in *echelons* of columns, covering their flank, and their own artillery and baggage; and the

Turkish troops in contiguous columns of battalions, covering the rear of the whole, until they approached the precincts of Kertch, when the whole of the troops broke into an ordinary column of route. The town of Kertch is clean, and remarkably well built, and the troops passed through it with the greatest regularity, and without the slightest disorder; subsequently the day became excessively hot, and the march being a long one, the men suffered greatly from fatigue and want of water, which was only to be found at occasional wells. We managed to get in here, however, by one o'clock, where we were soon after visited by the three admirals, and found a large squadron of small steamers and gun-boats, ready to proceed into the sea of Azoff, under the command of Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*.

"The result of these operations, besides the opening of the passage into that sea, and the destruction of the enemy's works, has been the capture of upwards of fifty of his guns, many of them of the largest calibre and the best construction; and if the enterprise has, from circumstances, not added greatly to her majesty's arms, it has, as already stated, so far been attended by complete success. That success, however, is mainly to be attributed to the judicious arrangements of Admirals Bruat and Sir E. Lyons, and to their indefatigable attention in carrying them out, as well as to the able and willing assistance they have received from the captains and other officers of the French and British navy under their respective commands; nor must I omit to mention the invariable and willing assistance I have on all occasions received in the course of this service from General d'Autemarre, commanding the French division, and from Reschid Pasha, commanding the sultan's troops.

"I omitted to state that, in passing through Kertch this morning, observing that an iron foundry there had been employed in the manufacture of shot and shells, as well as in casting Minié bullets, I caused it to be destroyed, with all its new and expensive machinery."

Few places in any land are more interesting to the archæologist and natural philosopher than the places of which the allies had thus taken possession. In connection with the Cimmerian Bosphorus, historians and antiquarians have always found themes of curious and also useful discussion. On p. 408, vol. i. of this History, a brief sketch was given of the historic interest of Kertch, which was there described as "a poor substitute for the glories of the once mighty Panticapæum." Nevertheless, Kertch was a handsome city when in May, 1855, it submitted to the allies. Its public buildings were large and elegant, and both as to their number and architectural pretensions,

were superior, in proportion to the number of the population, to those of any other town or city belonging to the Russians in the Black Sea. The site of Kertch is peculiarly pleasant; its sea-views are varied and picturesque, and in the distance the mountains of the Caucasian range display their lofty grandeur. The antiquity of Kertch extends even beyond the ancient Panticapæum. It is supposed that some rude town existed even in the days of the Cimri, but history fails to trace the character of the occupation of these regions in an antiquity so remote. In looking back through the revolutions of ages to such periods, we must be satisfied with the discoveries of the first indications of civilisation, and with tracing the glories of its early progress. In doing this the imagination is apt to betray the judgment, and invest with fictitious interest the earlier triumphs of social progress.

"Thus will memory oft in dreams sublime
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over,
While looking back through the waves of time,
That their long faded glories do cover."

Whoever the Cimmerians were, their history is lost in the darkness of the long past; they were succeeded by a race more barbarous—the Tauri, a race of Anthropophagi, fierce, bloody, and relentless. They seem to have excavated abodes from the solid rock, occupying a *hewn city*, so to speak, in the vicinity of Kertch. They were, in turn, subjugated by the Scythians, a people who appear to have descended from the mountains of Thibet, a brave, severe, stern race, dauntless in battle, and of undoubted spirit. These were afterwards known by the name of the Tauro-Scythians. It is not improbable that the present race of Tartars occupying that country are descended chiefly from them, although there is a large admixture in the race of other Tartar tribes, and of the ancient Huns. The Milesians expelled the Scythians, and have obtained the credit of marking those realms with the first traces of civilisation. History has scarcely done justice to the Scythian race, many of which remained among both the Ionic and Doric settlements, or on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and of the Black Sea, and were a stable and hardy element in the vigour of these infant colonies.

Kertch was the site of an ancient settlement of the Ionic branch of the ancient Greek race, as the Chersonese was of their rivals of the Doric branch. The country at that time was covered with fine forests, and hence the settlers dedicated it to the sylvan god Pan; the abundance of wine produced led to the worship of Bacchus, and the city, founded by this ingenious people 500 B.C., was designated Panticapæum.

The ancient city occupied a range of heights

from Mons Mithridates (formerly a precipice above the sea, which has now considerably receded) to a large artificial mound, which became the tomb of Milesian princes, and probably was previously the burial-place of Scythian chiefs. The country abounds in large mounds of a similar creation, and used for a similar purpose; they resemble the cairns of Ireland and Scotland, but are of vastly larger dimensions (showing the wealth and population of these Milesian colonies), and are objects of inquisitive interest to the learned. Herodotus refers to these vast piles for sepulture in these terms:—"The tombs of the Scythian kings are seen in the land of Sherri, at the extreme point to which the Borysthenes is navigable. Here, in the event of a king's decease, after embalming the body they convey it to some neighbouring Scythian nation. The people receive the royal corpse and convey it to another province of his dominions, and when they have conveyed it through all the provinces they dig a deep square fosse, and place the body in the grave on a bed of grass. In the vacant space around the body in the fosse they now lay one of the king's concubines, whom they strangle for the purpose, his eubearer, his cook, his groom, his page, his messenger, fifty of his slaves, some horses, and samples of all his things. Having so done, all fall to work throwing up an immense mound, striving and vieing with one another who shall do the most."

The Russian government of late years explored many of these "tombs of the kings," and removed many beautiful relics to the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Among these trophies, gathered from the graves of antiquity, were—personal decorations, implements of war, and instruments of worship, carvings, engravings, &c. Duplicates of all these were deposited in the Museum of Kertch. The French Chasseurs not only permitted the Turks and Tartars to destroy these relics of long-past ages, but joined in the barbarous demolition and dispersion; and such English sailors and marines as found opportunity participated in the barbaric work. Some bas-reliefs were secured by Dr. Macpherson, of the Turkish contingent, and a few other officers of taste, and sent to England to the British Museum.

About fifty years before Christ the Romans assumed authority in the Tauric Bosphorus; the Huns overran the country 375 A.D. For 900 years Huns, Goths, and other barbarous races, continued to overflow that fine realm, gradually defacing the traces of its once glorious civilisation. The Genoese then became its conquerors, and held it for a period of 200 years: they were expelled by the Tartars and Turks, who retained it for 300 years, until the Russians expelled them, who continued undisputed lords until the lion standard

of England and the eagle standard of France scared them away. In October, 1855, when the Turkish contingent occupied Kertch (as will be seen in a future chapter), Dr. Macpherson above alluded to, made excavations in several of the sepulchral monuments which cover the vicinity, and discovered various interesting objects. In a paper read by the doctor before the Geographical and Ethnological section of the British Society for the Promotion of Science, the following interesting information was presented, which we take substantially from notes of a report of the proceedings of that section:—"Dr. Macpherson's duties at the late seat of war having led him to Kertch, he was induced, by hearing of the former discoveries of the Russians, to commence excavations, which eventually led to the discovery by him of so many interesting traces of the ancient city of Panticapæum. There are few spots so replete with interest as the Cimmerian Bosphorus, once one of the most flourishing settlements of the ancient Greeks, and the extreme limit in these parts of the colonization of this wonderful race. Here the archæologist and the searcher in natural history will still find a wide field for exploration. Dr. Macpherson was stationed there from October, 1855, to June, 1856; but the severity of the weather rendered explorations impossible, and his public duties, as principal medical officer over a force of 20,000 men, so continually occupied his time, that he was unable to prosecute his researches. Assisted by Major Crease, Royal Engineers, Dr. Macpherson has carefully explored these tumuli. In some, the tomb was found under the natural surface, and in many beneath it. Some were arched in the Egyptian, others in the modern style. Square flags, resting on each other in the centre, and supported by a niche in the side wall, supported a few; others had flat roofs, while occasionally no masonry was discovered. Fragments of bracelets, which were exhibited in the room, were found in one of the tumuli. Having descended many feet under the natural surface, he came upon the bed of ashes. The bones of a horse, human skeleton, and other remains, were also met with; and, on removing the masonry, fibulæ and bronze coins were picked up in niches between the stones. Having worked at this tumuli for two months without success, he turned his attention to Mons Mithridates. The whole of this hill, from its base to its summit, and the spur extending from it to a distance of three miles, is composed of broken pottery and *débris* of every description, to a depth of from 10 to 100 feet over the natural clay hill. The height and size of this Milesian work are so enormous, that it is scarcely possible to believe it to be the result of human

labour, and it must have been the work of ages to have conveyed the surface soil from the plains below to raise it and the neighbouring heights to the present elevation. On the top of this hill is a rude chair, cut out of the rock, and a hollow resembling a sacrificial altar. He commenced his operations on the sides of these rocks, and came to excavations cut out of the stones, and probably the abode of the Tauri, and which had been converted into tombs by the Milesians. These tombs had, however, been explored; but he secured several specimens of the handles of amphoræ, with the names of Greek magistrates stamped thereon, and a few coins with the effigy of Pan, or the Greek ruler for the time being, represented upon them, with the figure of a griffin, which was the emblem of the city, on the reverse. Not far from Mons Mithridates he came upon a portion of an aqueduct, which probably conveyed water to the acropolis. It was formed of concave tiles, and one of them he exhibited to the meeting. After describing the result of some of his labours, he proceeded to state, that beneath an extensive sloping artificial tumulus, running at right angles with the ridge, extending northwards from Mons Mithridates, he came upon a mass of rubble masonry, beyond which was a door leading to an arched chamber built under the side of the mound. This led to a larger chamber, which was also arched. The walls of the larger chamber were marked off in squares, with here and there flowers, birds, and grotesque figures. Over the entrance to this chamber were painted two figures of griffins rampant. Two horsemen—one a person in authority, and the other his attendant carrying his spear—were rudely sketched on one of the walls. After some exploration, the skeleton of a horse was found, near which lay a human skeleton; and, continuing his researches, he struck upon a tomb cut out of the solid rock. Not far from this a smaller excavation in the rock was discovered, and, clearing the surface, the rock was found to be hewn out three feet in width and twelve in length. Here he came upon the skeleton of a horse, and, a few feet further on, an upright flag, four feet high, was found placed over the entrance of a tomb cut out of the calcareous clay. The tomb was of a semi-circular form, and he found, on entering, that the floor was covered with beautiful pebbles and shells, such as are now found on the shores of the Sea of Azoff. The dust of the human frame, possessing still the form of man, lay on the floor. The bones had crumbled into dust, and the space occupied by the head did not exceed the size of the palm of the hand, the mode in which the garments enveloped the body, and the knots and fastenings by which they were bound being easily

traceable in the dust. Several bodies were discovered, and at the head of each was a glass bottle, and in one of these bottles was found a little wine. A cup and a lacrymatory of the same material, and a lamp, were placed on a small niche above each body. A coin and a few enamelled beads were placed on the left hand, and on the right a number of walnuts. Other similar tombs were explored, and various specimens of pottery, personal ornaments, vessels of glass, coins, beads, and other objects of interest, were found."

It is much to be regretted that so few of these valuable antiquities were brought to England. It was the good fortune of the British Museum to obtain some spoils of value. A lion and lioness, full-sized figures in marble, exquisitely sculptured, had been at the entrance of the Kertch Museum: these were sent to England. The *Firgfly*, a hired transport, by which they were conveyed, afterwards brought home some marble slabs, of a very remote antiquity, covered with figures of the early kings of Pontus.

On the evening of the 25th, Captain Lyons (son of the admiral) prepared to cross the Sea of Azoff to its northern shores, which he effected on the 26th. A part of his squadron cruising about captured coasters and gun-boats. At three o'clock on the 26th, they arrived at the Spit of Berdiansk, the rendezvous for the French and British. In half an hour the whole squadron anchored off the lighthouse which is on the spit; this was done in such a manner that while some of the vessels cannonaded the merchantmen in the harbour, others cannonaded the beach, so as to render it impossible for the enemy to assemble either infantry or artillery there. Commander Osborn took the command of the boats, French and British, and attacked the ships in the harbour; the gallant officer dispatched a portion of his boats a distance of four miles, where some Russian coasters found anchorage: the whole were set fire to and consumed. The necessity of great celerity in accomplishing the work committed to Captain Lyons compelled him to forego capture, and to consume what otherwise would have constituted valuable prizes. From this anchorage, and while yet the work of destruction was going on, Captain Lyons dispatched some of his fleetest steamers in pursuit of other vessels descried at a distance, which were captured. Before dark, the work of capture at sea and destruction in the harbour was completed. At dawn of the 27th, the captain conducted his squadron up to the town of Berdiansk; by consulting "Wyld's Map of the Sea of Azoff, and the surrounding Shores," the reader will perceive that the Spit of Berdiansk projects a considerable distance into the sea, the lighthouse and port being at

its extremity. On that point the work of the preceding evening was accomplished; the town of Berdiansk was at the other extremity of the spit, where vessels of an inferior draught could go in; the difference of draught could not, however, be great, as four small war-steamers, which had escaped from Kertch on the 24th, made for the town of Berdiansk, and found a haven of security there, as their commanders hoped. The approach of Lyons' squadron to the lighthouse at the other end of the spit removed that hope, and the steamers were burned to the water's edge when, on the 27th, Commander Lambert, to whom Captain Lyons intrusted the duty, arrived at Berdiansk. The commander summoned the governor to surrender, who complied; private property was spared; the inhabitants, who were descended from Greek and Genoese colonists, were friendly, and readily gave any information the allies sought. All government property was destroyed—this included corn to the value of £50,000. A beautiful 8-inch 62-cwt. gun was carried away. While these proceedings took place, Cossack videttes reconnoitred; they were sent out from Petroiskoi, a town five miles off: they did not venture upon any hostile demonstration.

On the return of the commander with the boats, Captain Lyons, with his characteristic promptitude and skill, directed a combination of movements which, suddenly executed, embarrassed and distressed the enemy. He sent a portion of his squadron to the entrance of the Putrid Sea, stationed a swift ship off the estuary of the Don, and directed the remainder of his force upon Arabat. He arrived off that place on the 28th, which he immediately attacked. There was shoal water, and the wind was on shore; but the ships, French and English, were so well handled that every shot upon the batteries told. The vessels were ordered to keep at shell range. One shell made a lodgment in the magazine, blowing it up, and producing great destruction of life and *materiel*. The fort at Arabat mounted thirty guns, and the fire of the ships was answered with great spirit and resolution. With the destruction produced by the explosion the gallant captain contented himself, as it was impossible to conquer the batteries with the force at his disposal, as there was a large body of troops on shore. There was a vast store of grain on the Spit of Arabat, near the town, but no effort was made to destroy it; the reason for not making the attempt being, that the boats would be exposed to a dangerous cannonade. To expose ships or boats, in any sea, to a dangerous fire from the forts or batteries of the enemy, had gone out of fashion. No doubt our ships would have been matched against ships at any odds; but our commanders

everywhere during this war had the honour of bringing their ships safe out of the way of land defences. The force under Captain Lyons was so considerable, that we can hardly doubt a spirited attempt to destroy the granaries at the spit would have been successful, not indeed without loss;—but the English people had no notion, in sending out their fleets, that important exploits could be performed with immunity from loss of men or *materiel*. It may be that the captain perceived that the advantage, if obtained, would not compensate for the loss which was certain to occur. After the affair at Arabat, Captain Sedaiges and his fine ships left the squadron and returned to Kertch. This seems to have been very unaccountable every way—it was another instance of the uncertainty of co-operation from the French fleet, everywhere that the command of a French general-officer could reach them. Sedaiges was as amenable to General d'Audemarre as Bruat was to Pelissier; and the result was that the operations of the French navy were so completely subservient to the convenience of the army that, as in the recall of the first expedition to Kertch by Canrobert, and in the instance of the abandonment of Lyons by his French coadjutor, there was no calculating upon their consistent and continuous action. While Lyons was bombarding Arabat, the little squadron at the Strait of the Putrid Sea was not idle. The entrance to that sea is not more than fifty yards wide, and the low cliffs of Genitschi (or Yenitschi) commanded it. The *Swallow* and *Wrangler* were the vessels which performed there the duty entrusted to them by Captain Lyons; they took three vessels as prizes, and destroyed several others; but the majority that were at Genitschi took refuge in the Putrid Sea. This was the state of affairs when Lyons, steaming along by the spit from Arabat, arrived at Genitschi. On the morning of the 29th, the captain sent a flag of truce to demand the surrender of all the government stores at Genitschi. This was refused: the governor, pointing to the force at his disposal, expressed his determination to resist. That force was considerable; besides the batteries (which were inferior), there were six field-pieces, 200 artillerymen, a battalion of infantry, and several sotnias of Cossacks drawn up in a favourable position to protect them in case of a landing. Captain Lyons, after giving the governor more time for reflection than he deserved or was necessary, began to act. The loss of time allowed might have been fatal to the expedition, for if the enemy had changed his position, so as to cover with his force the passage into the Putrid Sea, the boats could not have effected an entrance, which was the chief object Captain Lyons desired to attain.

He could not bring his ships nearer than long range, because of the deficient depth of water; he therefore shelled the town, spreading devastation everywhere, and while the panic and confusion created by such a bombardment raged, the boats passed in behind the Arabat Spit, and attacked, burned, and destroyed seventy-five ships. There were within the channel considerable granaries; most of these were given to the flames. Lieutenant Mackenzie, who commanded the boat expedition, having effected the demolition of most of the stores and ships without losing a man, retired. Captain Lyons, however, was not satisfied that the whole of the stores and ships were destroyed; and, notwithstanding the danger of the enterprise, the boats were again sent in to attack the shipping, while three volunteers alone undertook the daring feat of firing the remaining stores. These three intrepid men were Lieutenant Buckley, of the *Miranda*; Lieutenant Burgoyne, of the *Scallow*; and Mr. Roberts, gunner of the *Ardent*. Seldom have men deserved better of their country than these three fearless men. They landed and accomplished their purpose, escaping through showers of grape-shot, and having been in imminent danger of being cut off from the boats. Meanwhile Mackenzie succeeded in burning seventeen more ships, making a total of ninety. The stores and corn were at least worth £150,000. The value of stores, ships, houses, and other property consumed was such as to inflict a vast amount of injury upon the enemy. Already since the squadron of Captain Lyons entered the Sea of Azoff, there were captured or destroyed six war-steamers, 246 merchant-vessels, and stores to the value of £150,000. From the morning of the 21st of May to the evening of the 29th, this ruin to the property of the enemy, and the capture of the two cities of the straits, and all the stores within them, were effected. Had the expedition to the Putrid Sea been any longer delayed, it would have been too late, as the enemy intended to sink ships across the strait, and thus effectually protect the property within it. There was a great store of coal at Genitschi, which was burned by the shells from the ships.

It will doubtless amaze our readers, much as they have seen in these pages of the lying bulletins of the Russian chiefs, to learn that Prince Gortschakoff informed his imperial master that the allies had met with a series of defeats, unless the devastation of private property and defenceless towns was, in the estimation of the Western powers, victory. The prince boasted in his despatches that he had foreseen this enterprise of the enemy, and had prepared against it; that other modes of communication having been provided, little injury had befallen the Russian communications or

the Russian supplies, and that, in fact, he had ordered his troops everywhere to give the enemy such a reception as would severely chastise him for his temerity. When reading all this boasting and arrogance, one is tempted to exclaim—

“Now, in the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat does this our Caesar feed,
That he is grown so great?”

On the other hand, we have the despatches of Captain Lyons, recounting deeds of the utmost importance, and concerning which he was entitled to say—

“Et quorum pars magna fui;”

and whoever contrasts the modesty of these despatches with the vaunting effrontery of Prince Gortschakoff, will admit that the British officer appears to immeasurable advantage. The first of these was dated May 28th, off the town of Arabat; the second, May 29th, off Genitschi:—

“I have the honour to inform you that, on hauling down your flag on the afternoon of the 25th, I proceeded with the steam-vessels under my orders, and the French steamer *Lucifer*, towards Berdiansk; at dark we stopped for the French steamers *Megère*, *Brandon*, and *Fulton*. These having joined, at 3 A.M. on the 26th, we all went on in company; at 3.30 P.M. on that day we anchored off the lighthouse on the Spit at Berdiansk, in such a position as to command the harbour and beach and a large number of merchant vessels. I then sent the boats of the squadrons, under Commander Sherard Osborn, accompanied by the boats of the French ships, to destroy these vessels, as well as some lying about four miles off, and a storehouse. All this was completed by dark. During this time steamers of the two squadrons were chasing and destroying vessels in other directions. At daylight of the 27th I weighed with the ships under my orders, accompanied by the four French steamers, and anchored off the town of Berdiansk, the *Miranda* in fifteen feet, and the gun-boats in proportionally less water, in a position which effectually commanded the town and beach. Here we found run on shore and burnt to the water's edge, and abandoned, the four steamers of war which had escaped from Kertch, under the command of Rear-admiral Wolff, whose flag was flying in the *Moloditz*. I now landed the small-arm men and marines of the squadron under Commander Lambert of the *Curlew*, accompanied by those of the French ships, with orders to destroy all shipping and government stores, but to respect private property. This was done without molestation, although we had information that 800 Cossacks with guns were at Petroskoi, five miles off. Many vessels were destroyed,

and corn stores to the estimated value of £50,000. An 8-inch and 62-cwt. gun was also recovered from the wreck of one of the Russian steamers, and is now on board the *Miranda*. Immediately the boats returned, the squadrons weighed for Arabat; I at the same time detached the *Swallow* and *Wrangler* to Genitschi, to command the entrance to the Putrid Sea, and the *Curlew* to cruise between Krivaia Spit and Sand Island, and thus prevent vessels escaping us by getting up the Don.

"On the morning of the 28th we arrived off Arabat, and engaged the fort (mounting 30 guns) for an hour-and-a-half, at the end of which time a shell blew up the enemy's magazine; the ships having been ordered to keep at shell range, and being well handled, had only one casualty, the chief engineer of the *Medina* being slightly wounded by a splinter. The French senior officer's ship received two shots in the hull, but fortunately no one was hurt. The enemy must have lost many men, from the precision with which the shells burst in his works, independently of that caused by the explosion.

"The commanders of the vessels employed deserve every credit for the skilful manner in which they manœuvred their vessels in a very strong breeze and shoal water without a single accident, and I may be permitted to say none were more distinguished than our gallant allies. The large garrison at Arabat rendering any attempt at landing out of the question, I now proceeded for Genitschi, parting, with regret, from Captain de Sedaiges and his squadron, who left at the same time for Kertch. I take this opportunity of mentioning the efficient, cordial, and hearty co-operation I received on every occasion from M. de Sedaiges and the ships under his orders, and my hope that it may again be my good fortune to have him for my colleague.

"The allied squadrons have destroyed upwards of 100 vessels during the three days they have been in this sea, principally laden with provisions for the Russian army in the Crimea. Had we sent these vessels in as prizes we should have lost much valuable time, and not been able to effect so many captures. The active and zealous way in which the officers and ships' companies perform their duties, and the cheerful manner in which they suffer this pecuniary loss for the benefit of the service, will, I trust, meet with your approbation."

"I have the honour to inform you that I arrived here shortly after dark last night, with her majesty's ships under my orders, and joined the *Swallow* and *Wrangler*, which ships had already destroyed or captured all the vessels in

this neighbourhood outside the Straits of Genitschi; but a very great number had passed the straits, which are only fifty yards wide, and are commanded by the low cliffs on which the town is built, and were moored inside under the cliff. At six o'clock this morning I sent Commander Craufurd with a flag of truce, to demand the immediate surrender of all these vessels, and of the immense corn stores for the supply of the army in the Crimea, and of all government property of every description, stating that if these terms were complied with I would spare the town, and respect private property; but, if not, the inhabitants were immediately to leave the town. Commander Craufurd was met by an officer of apparently high rank, who refused to accede to these terms, saying that any attempt to land would be resisted. The enemy at this time had six field-pieces in position, and about 200 men with them, and, visible from the mast-head, drawn up behind the town, a battalion of infantry, besides Cossacks.

"Having allowed till 9 A.M. for the reconsideration of the refusal to deliver up the vessels and stores; and receiving no answer, I at that time hauled down the flag of truce, and placed the steamers as near to the town and the passage into the Putrid Sea as the depth of the water would allow, but they were only able to approach within long range. Seeing that if the enemy, who had removed his guns from their position, could place them in the town, so as to command the passage, and that if he could place his infantry in a similar manner it would be impossible for the boats to pass the channel, and destroy the vessels and stores, I directed the ships to shell the town, which they did so effectually that the boats, under the command of Lieutenant J. F. C. Mackenzie, got safely through the passage, and set fire to the shipping (seventy-three in number) and the corn stores. This service was ably performed by Lieutenant Mackenzie, and the boats returned without accident.

"The wind having shifted about two hours after the boats came off, some of the corn stores did not catch fire; conceiving the destruction of this corn, as well as of some more distant vessels, in so favourable a position for supplying the Russian armies in the Crimea, to be of the utmost importance, I sent the boats again, commanded and officered as before, although I was aware that, from the enemy having had time to make preparations, it would be a hazardous enterprise. The ships accordingly resumed their fire upon the town, and the boats proceeded. Lieutenant Cecil W. Buckley, of this ship, Lieutenant Hugh T. Burgoyne, of the *Swallow*, and Mr. John Roberts, gunner, of the *Ardent*, volunteered to land alone, and fire

the stores; this offer I accepted, knowing the imminent risk there would be in landing a party in presence of such a superior force, and out of gun-shot of the ships. This very dangerous service they most gallantly performed, narrowly escaping the Cossacks, who all but cut them off from their boat; at the same time Lieutenant Mackenzie pushed on, and burned the remaining vessels, the enemy opening a fire from four field-guns and musketry, placed almost within point-blank range of the boats. Everything being now effectually accomplished, the boats returned. Although several of them were struck by grape and case-shot, most fortunately only one man was slightly wounded. Lieutenant Mackenzie speaks in high terms of the coolness and excellent behaviour of all employed under his orders; and I trust I may be allowed to bring to your notice the conspicuous merit of Lieutenant Mackenzie himself on this occasion, when more than ninety vessels, and also corn for the Russian army of the value of £100,000 were destroyed, owing to his gallantry and ability, with so trifling a loss as one man slightly wounded.

"Since the squadron entered the Sea of Azoff, four days ago, the enemy has lost four steamers of war, 246 merchant-vessels, also corn and flour magazines to the value of at least £150,000."

It has been related that the *Curlew* was stationed at the estuary of the Don while Captain Lyons was engaged at Arabat and Genitschi. At the termination of these exploits the squadron steamed towards Taganrog, taking the *Curlew* in its course, and anchored about ten miles off. This city was founded by Peter the Great; but since his time the importance of the position has passed away; the approaches have been filled up by sand; and when the wind blows from the land it is very difficult for vessels of any draught to get up to the town. With great labour the ships were brought within three miles of Taganrog. As soon as they approached, a vessel was seen on fire in what is called the Merchant Harbour (a plan of Taganrog in Wyld's map will reveal the position). The difficulty of bringing up the ships caused the captain to resort to the expedient of rafts to carry 32-pounders, his ships' boats bearing nothing heavier than 24-pounder howitzers. This detachment reached the shallows; and, fortunately, at this juncture an auxiliary flotilla arrived which had been dispatched by the admirals to Captain Lyons' aid. The reinforcement consisted of twenty launches, armed with howitzers and rocket-mortars. Captain Sedaiges, of the French marine, rejoined Captain Lyons with these new succours. A flag of truce was sent to the governor, demanding

the surrender of all government property. The governor refused. Commander Coles, of the *Stromboli*, led in forty craft of various descriptions, and opened fire with such rapidity, that ships and stores were soon in flames. This was followed up by a landing of marines, who extended the destruction already caused by the rockets and shells. The marines had to fight their way in accomplishing the object. All the officers regretted the necessity they were under to do so much harm to a city so beautiful and so pleasantly situated. Many ladies in their carriages watched the approach of the flotilla, as if its purpose were peaceful. They were under the delusion that the troops would sink it, or cause it to put about. Several superb stone buildings became the prey of the devouring element; and the beautiful gardens, for which Taganrog is famous, were to a great extent destroyed. This was the favourite residence of Alexander I., and where he died. When the invaders attempted to burn the great store-houses, 3000 soldiers were drawn up for their defence. These men behaved bravely; but no troops could maintain a position beneath the hurricane of rockets and shells that fell upon them. The buildings had an enormous frontage along the beach, which rendered an effectual defence impossible. A huge raft lay close by, which was loaded with timber; and this catching fire, burned so fiercely, that the troops could not descend the beach to take aim with rifles or musketry, and not a man in the boats was killed. What loss of life was caused to the Russians it is impossible even to guess; but it is to be feared that not a few non-combatants—even women and children—were victims to the obstinacy of the governor. This personage, in his despatch, alleged that he offered to meet the allies outside the town, and to allow the fate of Taganrog to depend upon the result of the battle. It is scarcely necessary to say he made no such offer; and if he had been so foolish as to do so, no notice would have been taken of it. The official account of the loss by the enemy, irrespective of the wounded, reports the ever-recurring lie of one *Cossack killed*.

The arrangements and progress of the defence were, according to the commander-in-chief of the garrison, General Krosnoff, as follows:—

"The defence of the principal approach by the rough ascent leading from the quay to the street of the Greeks was intrusted by me to Major-general Count Tolstoi, who had shown a noble readiness to contribute to the defence by his experience and military acquirements. The half-battalion of the garrison of Taganrog had been posted near the ascent (*escarpement*) with about 200 inhabitants, who had been

hastily armed. In case of an attack, Count Tolstoi, with his infantry, supported by three sotnias of Cossacks of the regiment of the Don, No. 68, was to charge the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and rout them, while the regiment d'Instruction was to take the assailants in flank, and decide the affair. But, instead of the expected descent, the allies, having taken up a position with their steamers and fifty vessels differently armed with cannon opposite the timber-yard, commenced an infernal (*sic*) cannonade, which lasted till half-past six o'clock. At the same time seven large ships of the enemy, armed with heavy Paixhan guns and congreve-rockets, anchored at a distance, and commenced firing at an elevation upon the town. There was one uninterrupted noise of shells bursting, fuses, and grape, accompanied by fire-rockets, and rifle-balls. A conflagration burst out in the town, especially near the Exchange, the street of the Greeks, and at the Gostenoi-Riad; and at half-past three o'clock the assailants landed about 300 men, whom they advanced towards the high ground, upon which is the church of the Czar Constantine. This detachment opened an irregular fire of rifle-shots from behind the bushes, but at this decisive moment Count Tolstoi intrusted a company of the half-battalion of the garrison to the retired Lieutenant-colonel Makedonsky (who, under these difficult circumstances, had again offered his services to his country), and ordered him to drive back the enemy. This distinguished superior officer spread out his company in an inclosure covered by an orchard, in a moment forced the enemy's sharp-shooters to fall back, and then charged them vigorously at the point of the bayonet, routed them, and drove them back to their boats. The squadron then opened a terrible cannonade, but which only lasted a quarter of an hour. The allies, convinced that no cannonade would impose upon the Russian troops, withdrew to fifteen versts' distance from the town, and on the 23rd of May (the 4th of June) went again to sea, steering in the direction of Mariopol.

"Thus ended this new act of powerless animosity directed against a peaceful commercial city, which during so many years had provided the West with its magnificent grain; against a town which ought to be sacred to England, to France, and especially to Sardinia, in memory of the last days of the Emperor Alexander, who had conferred so many benefits upon them.

"By the special grace of God, our loss during this bombardment was very slight. One Cossack was killed; Lieutenant Volkoff, attached to the half-battalion of the garrison of the town, was seriously wounded by two rifle-balls in the chest and head; Baron Franek, assessor of the college, attached to the military

governor, Count Tolstoi, received a contusion on the head, occasioned by the fragment of a grenade; and Major Bozenko, police-master of Taganrog, who had his horse shot under him, also received a contusion: twelve men were wounded. A report is being made of the inhabitants killed and wounded, and also of the houses burnt or destroyed."

We shall reserve Captain Lyons' despatch until the close of the narrative, as the remaining operations require but little notice.

From Taganrog the squadron made for Mariopol, a good port situated on the extreme north of the Sea of Azoff, just within the Gulf of the Don. In this place considerable stores of grain were usually laid up for the service of the Russian armies in the Crimea, and even south of it. The flotilla appeared off Mariopol on the 4th, and its commander summoned the governor in the same terms as at Taganrog, and met with a similar reply. Early on the morning of the fifth the boats prepared for action, but no opposition appearing, a landing-party destroyed the granaries and all the government stores. A place called Ejsk on the opposite side of the gulf was next visited, and the whole of the government property which it contained reduced to ashes. The storage of hay and straw found at Ejsk was enormous. There was also a vast quantity of corn, particularly rye. From the nature of these commodities, the conflagration was speedy, and the work of destruction soon over.

While these operations were going on within the Sea of Azoff, others were being conducted without the Kertch Straits on the shores of the Black Sea. On the 28th of May, the Russians abandoned Soudjuk-Kaleh, first spiking sixty guns and mortars, blowing up the magazine, and setting fire to the barracks and public buildings. On their retreat they demolished a fort on the coast between Soudjuk and Anapa. On the 5th of June they evacuated Anapa, the most important of all their possessions on these coasts. The allies had intended to dispatch portions of troops at Kertch and Yenikale, under d'Antemarre and Brown, with squadrons of the fleet under Stewart and Chassicaud, to conquer and occupy Anapa, and co-operate with the Circassians. The Russians saved them the trouble of a military expedition. Rear-admiral Stewart, however, visited and inspected the place, and found it for the most part a smouldering heap of ruins. The admiral was surprised at the great strength of the position. There had been eighty long guns, fifteen mortars, twenty-one howitzers, and a garrison of 8000 soldiers. This force might, with the defences which they occupied, have made a sanguinary resistance to any detach-

ments brought against them, but the proceedings of Captain Lyons in the Sea of Azoff rendered it impossible for them to hope for supplies of provisions, and compelled them to retire. On their retreat before they crossed the Cuban, they were harassed by the native tribes. The Circassians were permitted by the allies to occupy the place.

On the 13th of June the allied admirals and generals resolved on returning to Balaklava and Kamiesch; but garrisons of Turks were left to occupy Kertch, Yenikale, and Fort Paul, while a light squadron of the fleets was to cruise in the Sea of Azoff. The active efforts of the expedition terminated with the 13th of June; but the utility of the light steamers and gun-boats was again to be tested before the summer was over; an account of their exploits will be reserved for the appropriate place in the order of our narrative. The following despatches were the official record of the services rendered at Taganrog, and on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. In Lord Raglan's despatch, June the 12th, reference is made to events before Sebastopol, which although not pertinent to the other portion of his letter, we leave intact, especially as it brings out the heroic deeds and sufferings of men who took part in the glorious feats of arms recorded in our last chapter on the siege. On June 6th Admiral Lyons thus addressed the Admiralty:—

Straits of Kertch, June 6th, 1855.

"Captain Lyons of the *Miranda*, having informed me that the squadrons under his orders would be ready about the 2nd or 3rd instant, to commence operations in the shallow waters of the Gulf of Azoff, Vice-admiral Bruat and I considered that the moment had arrived for reinforcing them with gun-boats, which would only have embarrassed them in their previous rapid movements in deeper waters; we therefore dispatched twenty launches of the line-of-battle ships armed with 24-pounders, howitzers, and rockets, and their lordships will perceive by Captain Lyons' letter, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, that their arrival on the spot was most opportune and attended with the happiest result; for, under the able management of the officers who commanded them, they mainly contributed towards the repulse of 3500 of the enemy, and the destruction of the public buildings and government magazines of provisions at Taganrog.

"Captain Lyons' account of the operations is so clear, and his appreciation of the merits of those acting under his orders on this important service so just, that I feel that it would only be weakened by any observations or recommendations of mine."

The reports of proceedings at Taganrog, by Captain Lyons, of her majesty's ship *Miranda*,

in Taganrog Roads, on June 3rd, was as follows:—

"I have the honour to inform you that I anchored in eighteen feet water, with the squadron under my orders, in Taganrog inner roads, at about eight and a half miles from the town, on the evening of the 1st instant, without any accident, although the enemy had removed the light-vessels and beacons. During the night an easterly wind sprang up, and the water fell three feet, with every appearance of still falling; we were, therefore, obliged to remove a mile and a half further from the town.

"The 2nd was employed in reconnoitring the town, which I was enabled to do satisfactorily in the *Recruit*, Lieutenant Day, commanding that vessel, having found a passage during the night. I had arranged to proceed at 3 A.M. the following morning, to summon the town, and in the event of a refusal to surrender, to endeavour to destroy the immense stores of grain and other government property in that place. Matters were in this state, when, at sunset, to my great satisfaction, the *Sulina*, *Danube*, and *Medina*, with the twelve armed launches of the line-of-battle ships, hove in sight; this most welcome and opportune reinforcement of exactly the description of force required for the purpose in view, rendered success certain; and not long after, the French steamer, with launches in tow, arrived. Having concerted measures with Monsieur de Sedaiges, commanding the French steamers, I proceeded at 3 A.M. in the *Recruit*, with the vessels and boats, and accompanied by the lightest French steamers (M. de Sedaiges being on board one of them) towing their launches. Having anchored the *Recruit* at 1400 yards from the Mole Head, and collected all the boats astern, I sent Lieutenant-commander Horton with a flag of truce, accompanied by a French officer with similar orders from M. de Sedaiges, to demand the surrender of all government property, of every description whatsoever, and of all grain, flour, and provisions (which I considered as contraband of war, knowing that even in the event of its not being government property, that it could only be intended for the supply of the Russian army in the Crimea), the whole to be delivered over to us to destroy; the troops to remove, during this necessary destruction, to a place five miles from the town, and within sight of the ships; the inhabitants to withdraw, except those appointed by the authorities to open the stores and assist us; any approach of troops, or any infraction of these terms, if accepted, to be considered as cancelling them, and to be punished with instant bombardment; one hour to be allowed for a decision, and no modification of the terms to be entertained. At the expiration of the

hour, Lieutenant Horton and the French officer were informed that the governor refused the terms, and that, having troops at his disposal, he intended to defend the place. On this, these officers came off, and the flag of truce was hauled down from the *Reeruit*. Shortly afterwards the *Reeruit* commenced firing, and the boats proceeded, under the command of Commander Cowper P. Coles, of the *Stromboli*, in tow of one another, and accompanied by the French boats, until, having arrived in the required position, the tow was cast off, the boats' heads pulled round to the beach, and so heavy a fire opened that, although the enemy made repeated attempts to get down to the houses lining the beach, so as to save the long range of store-houses from destruction, they never succeeded in doing so in sufficient numbers. Lieutenant Mackenzie (the senior lieutenant of this ship) had charge of a separate division of gun-boats, with rockets and one gun, to cover the approach of Lieutenant Cecil Buckley, of the *Miranda*, who, in a four-oared gig, accompanied by Mr. Henry Cooper, boatswain, third class, and manned by volunteers, repeatedly landed and fired the different stores and government buildings. This dangerous, not to say desperate service, when carried out in a town containing upwards of 3000 troops constantly endeavouring to prevent it, and only checked by the fire of the boats' guns, was most effectually performed. The *Reeruit*, from her light draught of water, was enabled to take an effective position at 1400 yards, and so was the *Mouette*, French steamer, and the *Danube*, with 24-pounder howitzer and rockets, was very useful. By 3 P.M. all the long ranges of stores of grain, plank and tar, and the vessels on the stocks, were in a blaze, as well as the Custom-house and other government buildings, and unfortunately, but unavoidably, the town in many places; and our purpose being amply effected, the boats returned to the *Reeruit*. The loss of the enemy in men must have been severe, as many were seen to fall; they deserve credit for the obstinacy with which they endeavoured to gain positions to prevent our effecting the object we had in view, but it was impossible to face the continuous and well-directed fire kept up. Their loss in grain of different descriptions I cannot estimate; but as it comprises all, or very nearly all, in store at Taganrog, it must be enormous. The only casualty in carrying out this service was one private, Royal Marine Artillery, severely wounded in the face by a musket-ball.

"I must now beg to be allowed to bring to your notice the very meritorious conduct of Commander Coles on this occasion, in command of so large a force of boats; and I cannot speak too highly of his energy, decision, and ability,

which left me nothing to desire. He speaks in the highest terms of all under his orders, and particularly of Lieutenant J. T. C. Mackenzie, in charge of a separate division, who behaved with his accustomed spirit and judgment; and of Lieutenant Buckley, who so well carried out the hazardous service he volunteered for. All the officers and men employed conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction; but as those above mentioned were in such conspicuous situations, I trust I may be pardoned for submitting their names to your favourable consideration. I cannot refrain from bearing my testimony to the admirable conduct and cordial co-operation of our allies, under the personal direction of M. de Sedaïges; the boats being under the immediate command of M. Lejune, *capitaine de frégate* and first aide-de-camp to Admiral Bruat. A Russian sergeant who deserted, and gave himself up to a French boat, states the number of troops in the town to have been 3200, of which 800 arrived last night. A Russian war schooner, which had been run on shore near the town and abandoned, was set fire to and burnt, and so was a large raft of timber. The wreck of a large vessel (a sort of guard-ship), which we observed to be fired by the enemy and blown up on our first appearance in Taganrog Roads, was visited, but was found to be already effectually destroyed. Many large buildings had the black flag hoisted, as a sign, I presume, of their being hospitals; these were most carefully respected by us, as were the churches, and, so far as possible, private houses."

Concerning the evacuation of Anapa, Admiral Lyons wrote, in a letter dated June the 11th, from the Straits of Kertch:—

"My telegraphic message of yesterday, of which I have had the honour to inclose a copy, will have informed the lords commissioners of the Admiralty that Admiral Bruat and I had received intelligence of Anapa having been evacuated by the enemy on the 5th instant. I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a report which has just reached me from Rear-admiral Stewart, whom I sent to Anapa to act in concert with Rear-admiral Charner, to prevent the possibility of the place being occupied by a Russian force, leaving the political part of the question in the hands of Mr. Longworth, the agent of her majesty's government, whom I sent to the spot in the *Highflyer*, a few hours before Rear-admiral Stewart left this anchorage."

The report of the Rear-admiral, dated the 11th of June, on board the *Hannibal*, was as follows:—

"SIR,—In pursuance of your orders of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform you that I arrived at this anchorage at 10 A.M. to-

day; Rear-admiral Charner did not arrive till about 1 P.M., Admiral Bruat having last night informed me that he would be detained, and requested me not to wait for the *Napoléon*.

"I inclose a return of the guns, by far the greater part of which have been rendered quite useless by the Russians themselves; the remainder of them are being made unserviceable or thrown over the cliffs, under the direction of Lieutenant Arthur, the gunnery officer of this ship. The Russians have exploded nearly all the powder-magazines in the place, and those which remain are empty. The barracks were burnt by the Russians, as also a good number of buildings, and all the coal and grain, which appear to have been in considerable quantities. The garrison is estimated by the Circassians at between seven and eight thousand, and they retired on the Cuban River, which they crossed by a bridge, destroying the latter behind them."

Lord Raglan's letter to the War-office was thus written:—

"In my despatch of the 5th instant I informed your lordship that the Russians had evacuated Soujuk Kaleh on the 28th of May. I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you that they withdrew from Anapa on the 5th instant, and thus they have abandoned their last stronghold on the coast of Circassia. Intelligence of this event was brought to Sir E. Lyons by Captain Hughes, who, in his zealous endeavour to give the admiral the earliest intimation of it, went from Soujuk to Kertch in an open boat, and on passing Anapa, observed it was burning, it having been set on fire by the Circassians. Captain Hughes, who arrived here yesterday, entertains no doubt that the enemy have retired across the Cuban. The abandonment of Anapa is one of the fruits of the attack and capture of Kertch, and one of the brilliant operations of the allied naval forces in the Sea of Azoff, where no flag now flies but that of England and France.

"Nothing material has occurred here since I had the honour of addressing your lordship on the 9th instant; both our allies and ourselves are taking advantage of our success to push forward our advances, and erect new batteries on the ground which was gained upon that glorious occasion, and I hope I shall soon be able to report further progress.

"I have had a second report from Colonel Shirley, in which he begs to draw my attention to the services of officers whom he omitted to mention in the first instance, and whose names I have now the honour to bring to your lordship's notice. They are the following:—Major Macdonell, Rifle Brigade, who commanded a portion of that corps, and of the 41st, 47th, 49th, 77th, and 90th regiments, detached

from the guard of the trenches; Captain Ambrose, who had charge of 200 men of the Buffs, and was himself wounded; and Captain Dixon, also wounded, who commanded a large detachment of the 41st; Captain Shiffner, of the 34th; Captain Hunter, and Lieutenants Lucas, Gaynor, and Stokes, of the 47th; Lieutenant Beresford, of the 88th, who succeeded to the command of a part of that regiment, his seniors being either killed or wounded; Lieutenant Pearson, of the same corps; and Lieutenant H. M. Jones, of the Royal Fusiliers. Colonel Shirley likewise eulogises the conduct of the 62nd, under Colonel Shearman; and here I must be permitted to express my deep regret at the death of that officer, who fell mortally wounded; and of Major Dickson, of the same regiment, who was unfortunately killed upon the occasion. Both these officers are serious losses to her majesty's service.

"I inclose returns of the killed and wounded from the 4th to the 7th, and those of the casualties that have since occurred up to the 10th instant. These lists, I much lament to say, are very heavy.

"The *Alma* has returned from Kertch, having on board the 72nd and 63rd, whose services ceased to be required, as soon as it was known that Anapa had been abandoned."

The operations of our naval and military forces, above recorded, became of increased importance as the season advanced, and their effects were severely felt by Russia throughout the war. From Sebastopol to the entrance of the Putrid Sea, and all around the eastern shores from Azoff to the Isle of Taman, every city, town, and fort was captured or burned. Nearly 400 ships of commerce, six ships of war, and a large number of passage and grain-boats were destroyed, many of them laden with flour and wheat. Supplies for an army of 100,000 men for nine months were cut off from the Russian commissariat. During winter, the Sea of Azoff is always frozen, and communications are carried on across the ice; these were rendered difficult, either for purposes of information or aid, by the allies continuing to hold all the prominent places, such as Mariopol, Taganrog, Kertch, Yenikale, &c. In dry seasons, and during the heat of very hot summers, the northern extremity of the Sea of Azoff is passable, and both on horses and by foot considerable intercourse takes place on such occasions. If we had merely made a naval demonstration in that sea, we could not have cut off the Russian intercourse between the two shores, to intercept which proved of so much importance to the war in Asia. We should in winter have been shut out by the ice, and in summer from insufficient depth of water; but, occupying

military positions on all the most valuable points, and garrisoning them with Turkish rather than with French or British troops, we effectually barred the access from one shore to the other. The Cossacks had no ill-will to the Turks, the Tartars had a friendly feeling to them, and the Turkish garrisons more easily established amicable relations with the natives. The rivers which empty themselves into the Sea of Azoff were not only commercially useful to Russia—they were the highways from the interior. The Don was especially necessary to Russia as a means of communication, and the command of its mouth was of more importance as to the general issue of the war than the destruction of one thousand soldiers. These operations in the Sea of Azoff had, as their necessary complement, successful operations on the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea. The position assumed by Russia there, made her more formidable to Turkey and Persia, and even to England, than any other which she occupied. The character of the Russian navy in the Black Sea was such as to make it unsuitable for the transport of a large army from Sebastopol to the Bosphorus, or even to the northern side of the Baltic in the Black Sea—as, for instance, to Varna. The sudden descent of a large army upon Constantinople, however possible a great many years to come, was not within the power of the Russian navy at Sebastopol to execute. There were other and more dangerous uses to which it might be put, viz., in support of an invading army entering Bulgaria, or advancing from Bulgaria to Roumelia. But so practicable is the defence of the Danube by any army commanded by Europeans, and disciplined according to the European school, and so weak is the defensive system of the same river on the Wallachian side, that an army on the southern shores, numerically equal, can always dislodge an army from the opposite line of the river, and drive it back upon Bucharest, so that, even when in possession of Wallachia, Russia can be combated upon the Danube with success. The line of the Pruth, however dissimilar to that of the Danube, affords an effective defensive system on its southern side, but with an indifferent one upon its northern side—again affording a double advantage to the Turks, if they made their stand upon their proper boundary. From the junction of the Pruth with the Danube, the defensive system of the latter becomes exceedingly strong on the Russian side of the river, rendering an attack upon Bessarabia in front by no means feasible for the Turks; they, however, occupying Wallachia, would always hang upon the flank of a Russian army in Bessarabia, and thereby render the Russian hold upon the Danube insecure. But, by occupying the Caucasian shores of the

Black Sea, Russia could always give powerful support to her armies acting upon the European side; while, by her possession of Mingrelia, Immeritia, Georgia, and the line of the Araxes (and she is actually in possession of territory south of the Araxes), she can always menace Turkey by way of Asia Minor; she can push on rapidly to Persia, and she can, by the route indicated to the Emperor Alexander I. by the Emperor Napoleon I., push her way, step by step, to India. We know that this is “pooh-poohed” most fashionably; but we also know that it is practicable, and that it forms a part of the schemes of her ambition. To march an army from her present frontier-line, by way of Khiva and Bokhara, would be indeed impossible; but to bring these nations of Central Asia within her frontier, and lay there her basis of operations, is not impossible, nor is such an undertaking so very distant in the future of Russian aggression as some persons imagine, if she be only allowed to travel at the rate of the conquests of the present century in that direction. Since the treaty of Adrianople, Russia has had from the Porte a title (which, indeed, the Porte had no right to give) to the eastern shores of the Euxine, from Anapa, near to the Strait of Taman, for more than 200 miles, to Fort St. Nicholas. Nearly all that territory was most gallantly contested with her by the Circassians, or more properly Caucasians, as the Circassians are but one tribe of many inhabiting the Caucasian range. The Russians owned nothing but a series of forts on the line of coast—the sword of the Caucasians swept them away from all besides. These forts could always be supplied from the Sea of Azoff, and reinforced with ease. Our occupation of that sea therefore had, as its first-fruits of victory, the abandonment of all that line of coast by the enemy. The communications between the seat of government and the Asiatic territory south of Georgia would be over the eastern portion of the Caucasus, and by the slow route of the Caspian Sea, where, on every step from Russian Armenia and Georgia, northward and eastward, Russian troops or couriers were beset with enemies. Anything like vigorous operations by Turkey upon her Asiatic frontier would have driven back the Russians from all that they had torn from her there; and were Persia to descend upon the Araxes with some 30,000 men, led by European officers, her cavalry might ride in victory over the territories lately wrested from her. All Russian Armenia, and Georgia, and the country to the Caspian would have been abandoned as speedily as the Russian forts on the Caucasus; while the Daghestans, Lesghians, and Avarians, pouring down in alliance with advancing Turkish and Persian armies, would have

cleared the whole country, from the Caspian Sea along the line of the Terek; and every tribe from the northern slopes of the Caucasus moving forward simultaneously, the line of the Cuban would have been occupied with ease, the Cuban Cossacks driven away, or taken into the alliance of the independent tribes; and beyond the Cuban, step by step to the Don, there would be found races to join in the tide of wild horsemen that could be rolled on against Russia in that direction. A vast territory lay at the mercy of the allies, not only south but also north of the Caucasus—a region bounded on the north by the river Don, on the east by the Caspian Sea, and on the west by the Sea of Azoff. Our readers will comprehend, from these considerations, how important were the injuries inflicted upon Russia by the operations, conducted with such skill and success, on the coasts of the Sea of Azoff. For seventy-five years Russia had

warred for what she lost in a few days. For this she had sacrificed at least a million of lives, and the allies, without loss of a ship, but with prizes and profit, drove her from it all. Heart-sickening at St. Petersburg and Berlin were the tidings of Sir George Brown and Captain Lyons' proceedings; while along the whole range of the Caucasus, from the Straits of Taman to Georgia, the hills were lighted up with fires—the symbols of rejoicing among the free sons of the mountains. Since the English public had begun to watch the war, and inquire into its conduct, much more vigour marked the proceedings of our fleets and armies: still there was, in the courts and cabinets of Western Europe, consideration for the feelings of the Russian army and nobility—but none for the plundered Armenians, and none for the nobler races who had guarded their mountain-homes, and kept at bay the power of Russia, while our statesmen were its abettors or its dupes.

CHAPTER XC.

SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL: FOURTH BOMBARDMENT.—DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES IN A COMBINED ASSAULT, JUNE 18th.

"Night closed around the conqueror's way,
And lightning showed the distant hill,
Where they who lost that bloody day
Stood few, and faint, and fearless still!"—MOORE.

AFTER the capture of the Mamelon by the French, and of the Quarries by the English, the fire of the allies relaxed; but their labours did not. It was necessary for the English to strengthen the Quarries as an advanced position, and to turn against the enemy the guns which they had there captured. The French had a still more laborious task at the Mamelon (now called by them the Brancion Redoubt). They had only a heap of ruins as the fruit of their victory, and works of magnitude had to be constructed to make the place an outwork of the attack. Thus nothing of consequence in the way of conflict occurred until a renewed bombardment was opened, preparatory to a grand and almost general assault.

It was agreed by the two commanders-in-chief that the fleets should co-operate, and accordingly, on the night of the 16th, they opened a heavy fire at a closer range than they had previously discharged their cannon since the bombardment of the 17th of October. Both the sea-defences and the town itself suffered from the fiery fall of rockets and shells. The cannonade was returned with spirit from the sea-batteries, and several of the ships had men killed and wounded.

The new batteries had been completed the same day, but did not open fire until the 17th. A bombardment, still more terrible than any of the preceding, was then directed against

the place. The Russians at first replied spiritedly, but their cannonade died away; and in the evening it slackened to such a degree, that the French were convinced such languor resulted from the disabled state of the batteries; and accordingly Pelissier resolved, at three o'clock in the morning of the 18th, to storm the great defences of the place. This had not been the original design of the allied generals, who had agreed upon a more protracted bombardment; but Pelissier was so satisfied that the batteries of the enemy had been rendered powerless by the day's cannonade, that he took this resolution. Lord Raglan remonstrated, observing, that by maintaining a fire which had proved so superior to that of the enemy, they would *make sure* of rendering his batteries unserviceable, and, besides, breach the abatis of each of the great works to be assaulted, opening a way for the assaulting columns,—thus securing success, and at a less sanguinary cost. The impetuous Pelissier would not be guided by these prudent counsels; he resolved upon an assault. This was not the first time that the views of Lord Raglan proved to be more sagacious and comprehensive than those of the French generals; but the latter had always the advantage over him in their capacity to handle large bodies of men.

On the night of the 17th the sea-defences

were again bombarded by a squadron of the allied fleet, and with such success, that many guns were silenced, many men slain, and much injury done to the town itself. The ships came in nearer, and the conflict was close and fierce. The following frigates and sloops were more particularly engaged:—the *Tribune*, *Highflyer*, *Terrible*, *Miranda*, *Niger*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, and *Snake*. Captain Lyons, who had so recently distinguished himself in the Sea of Azoff here won fresh glory. His command of the *Miranda* elicited admiration. On the night of the 17th the *Princess Royal* and the *Sidon* lost several men, and a considerable number received slight wounds. Captain Lyons was amongst the wounded. A letter from an officer who served in the Black Sea fleet thus related the issue of the misfortune which befel that brave and useful man:—"The wound was only a flesh one, and would not at all justify the surgeons in operating; but mortification set in, and closed the scene. This was to be feared, as he had been for a good while an invalid; but at the first every hope was entertained of his recovery, with a useful limb. His death was like his life—calm, good, brave, and amiable. He heard of his doom with a smile, made his will, left messages for his officers and men, spoke of his passionate fondness for his father over and over again, dictated messages and wishes, the most minute, about his servants, as well as others, and retained his senses until nearly the last. He said, 'How fortunate he was to have lived so long; that he was thirty-six the day before; had been fortunate in the service; and though he did not inflict as much damage upon the enemies of his country as he wished, that he was happy in doing something.' At another time he said—"This is the way the captain of a man-of-war should die were he not killed at once." When death drew near, and his fine mind was clouded by suffering, he thought he was on the deck of his ship taking her into action, and in this way his duty occupied him until the last. The last words he spoke were in a loud voice—"Steady! ease her! stop her!" and so he gave up his great spirit to Him who gave it, and to whose mercy he had previously commended it. His remains are now in the church-yard of Therapia. Two trees hang over his grave, and his face is towards the sea he loved so well."

The loss of such a noble son to the brave and skilful man who commanded the British fleet was most trying, and he was justly the object of sympathy with all who loved the country which both father and son so gallantly served. Heart-sinking as the bereavement was, it did not deter Admiral Lyons from his duty, which he continued to perform with a resolute, but sorrowing spirit.

In order to create a diversion, and give the better prospect of success in the contemplated assault, the Turks and Sardinians were ordered to advance beyond the Tchernaya. This river is in the latter part of autumn, and in the latter part of spring, a torrent; the rains in the one case, and the thawing of the snow in the other, sending down from the higher country, rolling with fierce velocity, a great body of water. Early in spring, and sometimes at its close, the valley is flooded, and unfavourable to the passage of troops; but in summer, "the black river," as the Russian name means, is a crawling rivulet. Before sunrise on the 18th the Turks and Sardinians, supported by the French, crossed this turgid stream without difficulty or opposition. The Turks marched in the direction of the Lower Tchorgoum, the Sardinians in that of the Upper Tchorgoum. The former met with some outposts of the enemy, and, throwing forward their light troops, engaged them by a desultory fire, before which the Muscovs retired. The troops of both armies continued to spread themselves over the country, as if meditating some enterprise of importance; but the enemy made no show of resistance, nor indicated any appearance either of apprehension or surprise. Small detachments watched the allies, falling safely and skilfully back upon their supports. The Russians were apprised of the plans of the allied generals; as in a former instance, the whole scheme was bruited about the French camp, and so early as the 17th the English troops gathered from French gossip the precise nature of the enterprises intended for them. Russian spies conveyed the intelligence to Prince Gortschakoff, who took his measures accordingly. The Turks and Sardinians, therefore, did not distract the attention of the enemy, did not draw off any body of troops from the defence of the place, and were unable to effect anything except display their force by day and their watch-fires by night. The summer was fine; the country bloomed in its richest beauty, and the officers of our allies literally lived in bowers erected for them by the Turkish soldiery, who were practised in making a summer bivouac very pleasant. These troops remained in their picturesque position the remainder of June and the early part of July, and then retired to their former posts.

While these sections of the allied armies were marching upon the Tchernaya, one of the bloodiest conflicts of modern times began around southern Sebastopol. It was the wish of Lord Raglan, again and again pressed upon Pelissier, that the assault should be preceded by a bombardment and cannonade of three hours; but the general was resolved to assault the place without any antecedent fire, relying

upon that of the previous day as having silenced the batteries. Pelissier was influenced in this, against his own judgment, by a council of his officers, who wished to make the assault before day. The English artillery officers suggested that the Russians might, as on previous occasions, have withdrawn the guns for their protection, seeing that they could not silence the attack, and they gave it as their decided opinion that in three hours they could so far batter the defences of the Redan as to render the assault comparatively easy, and perhaps insure success. Pelissier was still obstinate, or willing to yield to the will of his officers rather than to that of the British; and Lord Raglan, for the sake of union, deferred to his plans. This was one more instance of the evil attendant upon a divided command. The plans definitively agreed upon were as follow:—The French were to make three distinct movements, and the English two: those of the latter to be dependent upon the success of the former. The French attacking body consisted of 25,000 men, and the three separate detachments into which this force was divided, were commanded by Generals Mayran, Brunet, and d'Autemarre. The English were to divide their assailing forces upon two separate points, one under Sir George Brown, and the other under Sir Richard England. The first was to storm the Redan, and to advance upon it in three separate columns of attack. The form of the Redan was that of the tooth of a saw; on each side a column of attack was to precipitate itself, and, upon their first token of success, a third was to seek an entrance by the apex in front. The second body of men consisted of the division of Sir Richard England, which was to take the cemetery, and threaten the works at the head of the Dockyard Creek. This was the only successful movement of the day, but it was made unproductive by the failure of the others. The order of the assault requires that the attempts of our allies should be first recorded. The attack by the French comprised not simply the Malakoff, as various accounts represent, but a range of works consisting of the Malakoff, the Little Redan, the Curtain, and "the Batteries of the Point," and, in case of success on these points, the Flagstaff and Central Bastions. As it devolved upon Pelissier to appoint a commander of the corps to act upon the Tchernaya, he committed that trust to General Bosquet. This appointment caused great discontent among the French soldiery, who hoped that Bosquet, always so successful, and to whose judgment the capture of the Mamelon was attributed, was to direct the difficult assault of the Malakoff, and its chain of dependent works. Thus Pelissier was not only so unfortunate as to offend the English artillery, and

to differ from the English generals, but to cause dissatisfaction in his own army also. Every step he took in connection with that ill-fated day was *mal à propos*, and many steps were taken in error. His energy and active courage were superior to his forethought and his genius.

When Bosquet received the notification of the change of command he was much chagrined, for his whole time and thought had been directed to the study of this grand attack, which he knew must be made, and which would require the most comprehensive, and yet most minute study of all its combinations and parts. "You will to-morrow," wrote the general-in-chief, in this letter, "resign the command of the attacks to General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély, at whose disposition, for the details of the service, you will leave the Commandant Henry, your deputy chief of the staff."

The general appointed to succeed Bosquet in the command of the *corps d'armée* from which the troops for the attack were to be selected, was the chief of the Imperial Guard. The following were the orders he received:—

"Sunday, 17th of June, at day-break, general opening of the fire against the place. On the same day the Sardinian and Turkish armies will make an offensive movement towards Aitodor, so as to threaten that quarter.

"On Monday, the 18th, early in the morning, assault on the Malakoff Tower, with an attack on the Redan by the English. After success, and when it shall have taken place, assault on the Flagstaff Bastion and the Central Bastion.

"A corps of nearly 25,000 men is formed by the French army on the Tchernaya, either to support the demonstration of the Turkish and Sardinian armies, or (if I give the order) to attack and carry the batteries of the right bank of the Tchernaya, and take possession of the plateau in the intrenched camp of the Northern Fort. The design will be, with the concurrence of the English, and by making a junction with the Turkish and Sardinian armies, to march upon Bagtehé Serai.

"It is for this contingency, ulterior to the assault, that we must be completely prepared, by organising beforehand the convoys, munitions, and ambulances for the troops who are to take part in the movement.

"In order to insure the execution of this general plan, so far as concerns the French army, I have nominated you to take the command of the corps that will be charged with the attack on the Malakoff; General Bosquet taking under his orders the troops that are to form on the Tchernaya. These troops will be composed of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th divisions

of the 2nd corps, and of the 1st division of the corps of reserve (General Herbillon's; of all the cavalry; of Morris's and d'Allouville's division; of Forton's brigade, and of four horse-batteries of the reserve.

"I have said to you that the attack on the Malakoff will take place on the morning of the 18th. The troops charged with this operation (who will be under your orders) will be the 1st division of the 1st corps (General d'Autemarre's), the 3rd division of the 2nd corps (Mayran's), the 5th division of the 2nd corps (Brunet's), and the division of the guard (Melinet's).

"As to the *corps d'armée* under General de Salles, charged with the attacks of the left, it will be composed of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th divisions of the 1st corps, and of the 2nd division of the corps of reserve (D'Aurelle's).

"All the movements of the troops which are to complete these dispositions will be effected to-morrow, in the afternoon, under private orders from the commanders of the different corps. The Imperial Guard alone will be retained, until fresh orders, in the position which it at present occupies.

"In consequence of these dispositions, I request you to place yourself immediately in a condition to know the ground on which you will have to act, in order to submit to me, on the morning of the 17th, your plan of action. It is a question which General Bosquet has been in a position to consider fully, and of which he will furnish you with the details. You will go to receive the command from that general to-morrow, at two o'clock in the afternoon; and you will install yourself in the present head-quarters of the 2nd corps, the position of which is well known.

"You will, early to-morrow morning, take your chief of the staff to confer with General de Cissey, in order to receive all the information that will tend to insure a fortunate continuation of the attacks and of the details of the service.

"The deputy chief of the staff of the 2nd corps, Commandant Henry, will remain with Colonel Vaudrimery until after the success of the assault. You will request the intendant of the corps of reserve to repair to the Intendant de Molines, to-morrow morning very early, to take the direction of the administrative services of the new *corps d'armée* placed under your orders, that you may be in a condition to supply all that circumstances may demand—such as ambulances, munitions, &c.

"The companies of engineers engaged in the works of the siege will remain there. You will have under your orders, for the attack of the Malakoff, Generals Frossard of the engineers, and Beuret of the artillery."

Bosquet descended from the plateau to where

the division of General Canrobert was posted, and took the general directions of the French, Sardinians, and Turks, who, in case of success in the storming on the 18th, were to be pushed on towards Bagtché-Serai, and to sustain other operations which the failure at the Malakoff rendered abortive. General St. Jean d'Angély did his best to carry on an operation for which he was not previously prepared by the study of its difficulties. Under his orders General Mayran's division was to leave the Careening Bay, pass along the left side of the ravine, extend its line to the right, and attack with its first brigade what was called the *Battery of the Point*, and which was turned by the gorge. The second brigade was to storm the Little Redan, which was on the right of the Careening Batteries. General Brunet's division was thus disposed:—the first brigade was in the front trench to the right of the Mamelon; the second was in the parallel to the rear of the first, and it was to pass between the Malakoff and the Little Redan, entering by the curtain, and also on the right face of the Little Redan, and on the left front of the Malakoff. D'Autemarre's division was to march by the ravine of the Karabelnaia. His duty was to attack the curtain, which united what was called the "Gervais Battery" with the Malakoff. Two troops of horse-artillery were to be placed behind the Mamelon, to be pushed forward to the enemy's position the moment the troops had made a secure lodgment. The three divisions were to attack simultaneously, upon the safe execution of which arrangement, followed by the opportune action of the English, victory depended.

Against all these complicated preparations the enemy had in the meantime made effective arrangements. The batteries were by prodigious labour repaired, and the whole force of the Russian army was ready to support them. The Redan was especially strengthened, although not so important a work as the Malakoff; and the deep ditch around it was *sown* with bayonets—the handles embedded, so that as the men descended into it they would be received by lines of bayonets, more firmly fixed to receive them than if held by the hands of men.

On the eventful morning Pelissier selected the Lancaster Battery as his post, having previously announced to the generals that he would give the signal of attack, which was to consist of a bouquet of fireworks. At half-past one o'clock in the morning the troops were placed in the different localities designed for their occupation. Captain de Launay was sent towards the extremity of Careening Bay to reconnoitre; he heard the drums of the enemy beat the *garde à vous*, which left no doubt that an attack was expected, and that they were apprised of

the time for which it was contemplated. At half-past three o'clock the generals of division were to expect the signal. At ten minutes before three, several shells, the fuses of which were very brilliant, were thrown from the Mamelon, and General Mayran called out that this was the signal. His officers assured him that it was not—that such shells had been frequently fired during the night, and that it was more than half an hour before the appointed time. He insisted that it was the signal; and said, "It is better to be too soon than too late in attacking an enemy." With these words he ordered forward his columns—a fatal movement, as everything depended upon a simultaneous advance of all the divisions, to prevent the foe from converging his fire on any one point of attack. The preparation of the Russian artillerymen instantly became obvious; a tempest of grape and round-shot swept upon and over the columns, making havoc not only in the advanced brigade, but also in that of De Failly, by which it was sustained. While the troops of Mayran were mowed down by the cannonade, stillness rested upon the other points of attack, no signal having been given, and all wondering what could occasion the roar of battle in that single direction. D'Angély himself supposed it to be a sortie, until his aide-de-camp, hastening to the scene of combat, brought him word that Mayran was engaged in dreadful and hopeless battle. Had Pelissier been at this moment in the Lancaster Battery all might have been redeemed by giving the signal, if, indeed, the plan of assault could have been effectually carried out under any circumstances, without the previous cannonade, so pressingly urged by Raglan and his officers of engineers and artillery. General Pelissier was only then on his way to join D'Angély, who had no discretion allowed him, and whose orders were to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief. At last the signal was given, and the general movement was made. But it was too late; Mayran's division, in that short time (from twenty to twenty-five minutes), had been nearly cut to pieces. They had dashed on against the curtain, over difficult ground, the steamers in Careening Bay pouring over the whole space a flood of projectiles. Mayran was struck by a cannon-ball on the arm, but yet, in an agony of pain, urged on his troops. Several field-officers of distinction fell as their general was wounded. Onward still pressed the brave man and his confiding followers, until a cannon-ball from one of the steamers swept him from their head. He perished at fifty-three years of age, in the vigour of life. His troops reeled back, discomfited and broken, clinging to any shelter they could find, yet firing a useless musquetade upon their aggressors.

When the two other divisions pushed forward to accomplish the parts assigned to them in this sanguinary tragedy, they also found embarrassments independent of that caused by Mayran's rashness. Brunet had to make a *detour* through narrow trenches before arriving at the point of attack, and so intricate was the course, that he did not reach the spot where he should have promptly emerged until after a delay fatal to his success,—the guns of the enemy already swept the ground with grape and musket-balls as his confused battalions came forth in a desultory way from the cover under which they had advanced so far. The general, foremost in the track of danger, foremost fell; a cannon-ball upon the breast smote him when he advanced a few paces before the trench. Nearly at the same moment the officer in command of the artillery of the attack, Lieutenant-colonel de la Boussinière, was struck by a cannon-ball, which carried away his head. The division of Brunet was broken as a shell cast upon the ground.

General d'Autemarre was more successful than Brunet, chiefly owing to greater order and celerity of movement, for the dangers were the same, but he had no obstructions similar to theirs, encountering which brave Brunet and his division were lost. The Chasseurs of d'Autemarre took at a run the Gervais Battery. Their commander wisely exclaimed, "None first! none last!—all must be together!" These words at once guided and inspired his men. This battalion did not leave more than 100 men behind; they at once climbed the parapets, bayoneted the artillerymen, and put the Russians to speedy flight. The divisions of Mayran and Brunet halted to open fire with their muskets, and fell as seared leaves in the autumn blast. The gallant Chasseurs of d'Autemarre arrived at the Gervais Battery with their rifles loaded; not a shot had been fired. They delivered their contents with a deadly volley from the captured battery into the retreating foe. Commandant Garnier was the officer who deserved the credit of this skilfully and gallantly performed feat: he received a musket-ball in the body, and a bayonet-thrust in the arm, in the act of storming the work, but still maintained his command. Prince Gortschakoff, in his report to the czar, gives credit to this brave band in these terms:—"The hostile columns advanced to the Gervais Battery, seized upon it, drove back the battalion of the Pultowa regiment that defended it, and, in pursuing it, occupied some houses of the Karabelnaia faubourg, between the Malakoff hillock and the ravine of the docks." This account was correct. When the Chasseurs attained the streets they found most of the houses dismantled, and behind and within their ruins every spot was crowded with Rus-

sian soldiers, whose fire was delivered with the greatest coolness. The Chasseurs charged with the bayonet, and a struggle ensued of bloody desperation, the combatants fighting in every form of close and deadly contest. Colonel Manèquè, at the head of a small detachment of the 19th regiment, arrived to the succour of the Chasseurs. This officer, with a calmness and skill the most surprising, collected the scattered combatants, and placed them where they were secure from the fire of both the Malakoff and Redan; but General Chruleff arrived to the support of his countrymen with a powerful column, and Manèquè and Garnier retired into the battery, followed by the Russians. Both officers were covered with wounds; and the struggle still raged, although hopeless for France. Pelissier had sent in several battalions of the Guards to reinforce the men on the points where succour could be of avail, but this order was indifferently executed; and on the point where we now describe the battle as ebbing, there was no timely help. At last Colonel Lesbiers, at the head of the 26th regiment, arrived; General Niel, and other superior officers, with fragmental detachment of troops, arrived also. General Niel being informed that there was a practicable place at the gorge of the Malakoff, made a last attempt to enter. The 20th and 26th regiments, with General Niel and Colonel Manèquè at their head, rushed forward; they were received with an avalanche of shot and fire. They must all have perished had they not fallen back on the support of the 39th regiment, which had just then come up. This regiment, and the shattered remains of the brave corps it so happily aided, then concentrated themselves on the side of the ravine.

Pelissier, at last disheartened, ordered his broken divisions to return to the trenches. It is related by French historians of the war that the French commander-in-chief, at the request of d'Autemarre, ordered up fresh troops to renew the attack, and sent to Lord Raglan, to request him to attempt the Redan a second time (for his attack on that work had also failed), but his lordship refused. We much doubt the truth of this story; but if it be true, it reflects credit on Lord Raglan's wisdom, for it was useless to attack the Redan while the Malakoff, which commanded it, was unconquered. This was proved two months later under more fortunate circumstances. Lord Raglan acted as prudently in determining that the assault should not be renewed, as he had previously advised that it should not take place under the circumstances in which it was so inauspiciously undertaken.

The troops under Sir George Brown were placed in their positions before daylight. Two

of the three columns of attack were placed to take either flank of the Redan, and the third to seize the salient angle of that work. Each of these columns numbered about 1800 men; and each column was composed of three detachments, consisting of a storming-party, a working-party, and an artillery-party, to spike guns, or turn and direct them against the enemy, as fortune might favour. The columns on either flank of the work were commanded by Colonels Yea and Windham: the former consisting of men told off from the light division; the latter consisting of men from the fourth division. The centre column was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Ewan, consisting of men from the second division.

Lord Raglan never expected to take the Redan independent of the capture of the Malakoff. If that work were won, the Redan must have fallen without the necessity of a storm, because the one commanded the other. All Lord Raglan hoped to do was to create such a diversion as would prevent the fire from the Redan raking the approaches to the Malakoff; and in case of a decided prospect of victory at the latter, then, by storming the Redan, to prevent its garrison hastening to the relief of the other bulwark of the defence. The way to facilitate such an object was to have overpowered the fire of the Redan by artillery, so as to render an assault possible at the same time that the French were assaulting the Malakoff. This the French generals of division prevented, as before shown, by prevailing upon Pelissier to change on the night of the 17th the hour and plan upon which he and Lord Raglan had agreed.

The English columns were to be led by engineer officers, and strong parties from the Naval Brigade volunteered to carry ladders under the command of the intrepid Captain Peel, and other naval officers of inferior rank. The unsuccessful character of the French assault was obvious to Lord Raglan before he gave the signal for his troops to attempt the works which frowned so grimly before them; when, therefore, his lordship gave the order for the attack, he knew that success was impossible; that if his brave fellows did drive the Russians out, they would certainly be slaughtered by the fire of the Malakoff, and by renewed attacks of Russian infantry, against which so small a force never could have held the Redan, even if the fire from the unconquered Malakoff could have been braved. Here the conduct of Lord Raglan is open to criticism. He himself felt it to be a point of honour, in which his country and himself personally were involved, to make the movement; but when it was distinctly understood between the two chiefs that only in case of hopeful success in one direction, was anything serious to be at-

tempted in the other, it is difficult to see how the blunders and defeats in the French lines constrained the honour of the English to spill their blood in an enterprise that must be fruitless. As to drawing off the fire of the Redan from the retreating French, a cannonade would have been more effectual, than to send, into the space of 700 yards which separated the Redan from their works, the British soldiers to certain destruction. Some officers agreed with his lordship in this point of honour; but others, and the great majority of civilians, regarded it as a blameworthy sacrifice, and were ready to exclaim, with the national poet, in his *Richard II.*—

“The blood of English shall menace the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act.”

No doubt his lordship acted conscientiously; but that is not a sufficient apology where the brave needlessly perish, and the widow, and the orphan, and their country have cause to mourn. Lord Raglan felt as tenderly for the loss of human life as a general possibly could, but in this instance he yielded to the stern demand of a high sense of honour and duty. Perceiving that the French in vain assaulted the Malakoff, he sent up the appointed signal, and the flanking columns were ordered forth to the attack, so that, contrary to the original arrangement, while yet the French fought and fell, the English were also engaged in a conflict equally murderous.

At two o'clock in the morning, while it was yet dark, Lord Raglan took post in an advanced trench, from which he could have a good view both of the Malakoff and the Redan. During the battle this position was one of great peril; officers and men were killed and wounded all around his lordship, who never evinced the slightest trait of uneasiness or concern for himself, and it was only for the sake of those about him he consented to change that perilous post for another, which, although less exposed, was sufficiently commanding for purposes of observation. When Mayran's division became prematurely engaged, the English listened with surprise and concern, for they became at once apprehensive of the true state of things, that by some misapprehension the hour of assault was anticipated. Colonel Hamley says that the amount of success obtained by the French was the cause of Lord Raglan ordering the movement; but his lordship assigned as his reason for issuing his columns of assault *the want of success* on the part of the French, and his desire to save their men by a sacrifice of his own. French officers generally do not make any generous acknowledgment of this; they take Colonel Hamley's view of it, and even represent their own defeat as partly dependent upon the failure of the attack on the Redan

by the English; even officers of high distinction have given this very unfair view of the matter to the world.

On the right the stormers were led by a party of the light division, with a company of the Rifle Brigade, and of the 33rd regiment. The engineers conducted these advance companies, attended by men of the Naval Brigade, carrying the implements of escalade. Between the Quarries where our troops found cover, and the Redan, was a smooth grassy slope; over this the brave fellows who led made their way without any material loss or accident, until they arrived within a few yards of the abattis which surrounds the Redan; then the cannon opened with a perfect “hell-fire” (as an officer described it) of grape-shot. The troops lay down, that the storm might sweep above them, and while recumbent, fired into the embrasures, the Rifles, especially, with an aim so deadly, that the Russian gunners fell fast. These advanced companies remained *en l'air*, yet rendering useful service, waiting in vain for their supports. The engineer officers retired under this desperate shower of grape to bring them up, but the men would not advance. Some of the officers stood upon the parapets exposing their persons to encourage the men; others ran forward waving their swords, and calling upon the troops to follow; but these consisted almost wholly of young raw lads, recruits, who had not long arrived in the camp, and had witnessed no severe warfare; groups of the bravest of them, and such old soldiers as were among them, rushed out and followed their officers, only to be swept away as the besom of the gardener sweeps the fallen leaves from a smooth garden-walk. The artillery-party attached to the columns, consisting of twenty men, sallied forth with their officers, and most of them reached the advanced companies, but only nine returned without a wound. The sailors were equally prompt and daring, but no example could move the great body of the men; they were under the conviction that they were being led forth to unnecessary slaughter, as their numbers were too few to accomplish anything. Had they been in sufficient force to inspire a hope of victory, they would have followed their officers anywhere, young as they were, and whatever the peril to which they might be exposed. Colonel Yea exclaimed, “Anything is better than standing still!” and sought for a trumpeter to sound the charge, but there were none unhurt. Collecting a few men, he led them on, but he was killed by a grape-shot. Officers and men in the advance and in the trench perished in numbers, and at last the companies in advance fell back, or rather ran back, as fast as they could to the trench, many of them falling to rise no more.

The detachments of the fourth division, which were to assault the left side of the Redan, had similar misfortunes to those of the light division on the right. Sir John Campbell, who had for a considerable time commanded a brigade of Sir Richard England's division, now commanded the fourth. He was a gallant and skilful officer, who had seen much service; he did his utmost to lead the men of his division forward; a few followed him; he had not led them far before most of them were stretched on the grassy sward. He persevered until he reached the abattis, and fell down dead under the shower of destruction there directed upon him and his few brave followers. On this side the attack was as completely a failure (if attack it could be called) as on the other. The death of Sir John Campbell caused deep depression among the soldiery under his command.

A correspondent of the *Times* gave an explanation of the reluctance of the men to advance, which no other narrative or private letter that we have seen offers; it is as follows:—"As the 34th regiment advanced, the supports, by some means or another, got mixed together with them, and some confusion arose in consequence. On crossing the trench our men, instead of coming upon the open in a firm body, were broken into twos and threes. This arose from the want of a temporary step above the berm, which would have enabled the troops to cross the parapet with regularity; instead of which they had to scramble over it as well as they could, and, as the top of the trench is of unequal height and form, their line was quite broken. The moment they came out from the trench the enemy began to direct on their whole front a deliberate and well-aimed *mitraille*, which increased the want of order and unsteadiness caused by the mode of their advance. Poor Colonel Yea saw the consequences too clearly. Having in vain tried to obviate the evil caused by the broken formation and confusion of his men, who were falling fast around him, he exclaimed, 'This will never do! Where's the bugler?' But, alas! at that critical moment no bugler was to be found. The gallant old soldier, by voice and gesture, tried to form and compose his men, but the thunder of the enemy's guns close at hand and the gloom of early dawn frustrated his efforts; and as he rushed along the troubled mass of troops which were herding together under the rush of grape, and endeavoured to get them into order for a rush at the batteries, which was better than standing still, or retreating in a panic, a charge of the deadly missile passed, and the noble soldier fell dead in advance of his men, struck at once in head and stomach by grape-shot. The signal for our assault was to be given by the discharge of two service rockets, which were to have been fired when the French got into

the Malakoff, and the latter were to have hoisted a flag as a signal of their success. It is certain that the French did for a short time establish themselves in the Malakoff, but they were soon expelled with loss, and I saw with my own eyes a large triangular blue and black flag waving from the Malakoff all during the fight.*"

The column of the second division, which was designed to take the apex of the Redan (against which, on the left flank of the work, Sir John Campbell, by some error, led the men of the fourth division), remained under cover, their assault being dependent upon some measure of success obtained on the flanks. It was well that these troops were not precipitated upon that point while no impression had been made upon the flanking columns, or the cry of "Murder!" which broke from the lips of wounded and dying men, and even officers, of the other division, would have been heard in it also.

While these heart-harrowing scenes were witnessed in front of the Redan, General England's division was engaged at the cemetery. Nearly 2000 men of that division were ordered by Sir Richard to be placed under the command of Major-general Eyre, consisting of men of his own brigade, and he eventually justified Sir Richard England's selection of him for the work committed to his enterprise and talent. The troops under Major-general Eyre's command were chosen from the 9th, 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th regiments. They were to proceed down the great ravine towards the Dockyard Creek; and if the Redan attack had succeeded, the troops attacking the Barrack Battery were to form a junction with those under Major-general Eyre. The storming-party consisted of the 18th Royal Irish; the other troops were to support them. As the 18th moved up with the tread of disciplined and tried soldiers, General Eyre thus addressed them:—"Royal Irish, I rely on you, and expect that you will this day do deeds which will make every cabin in Ireland ring with pride and joy." His reliance was not misplaced; for these brave fellows snatched victory from the enemy, although surrounded by the defeat and slaughter of two armies. Unfortunately, the address of the general worked up the enthusiasm of these poor fellows to such a degree that, notwithstanding the importance of silence and caution, they burst forth with loud and vociferous cheers, which were answered by the enemy with a cannonade, before which all other sounds sank into silence. Turning a corner of the defile in advance of the British works, the head of the regiment came upon a small cemetery, in which Russian riflemen were dispersed behind the grave-stones, and

* A Russian ensign.

wherever cover was attainable. The Irish, with another ringing cheer, rushed into the burial-ground, and, without wasting powder, put to the bayonet or drove out its occupants. The rapidity of their movement was such, and the advance companies were so quickly followed by the rest of the storming columns, that the Irish cleared the cemetery along with their enemies, pursuing them, and entering with them into a portion of the town of Sebastopol, the other troops of General Eyre's column occupying the cemetery. A number of houses—some not unlike Irish cabins, others of superior pretension—rested on the crown of the ravine; these the Irish occupied until their countrymen of the 9th, following close upon them, succeeded them; these again were succeeded by other troops from the cemetery, the Royal Irish and the 9th still pushing on. The character of the ground, and the positions in its vicinity, is thus described by Colonel Hamley, who has been on the spot:—"At the junction of the two ravines, and resting against the slope of the high ground which separates them, are a number of houses, entitled to rank as a small town; when these were taken possession of, the advanced parties extended in front of the low battery (a Russian battery near the water's edge, formed to sweep the approaches in this direction), and, scaling a cliff on their left, reached a battery for three guns, on a shoulder of the cliff-like side of the ravine, from whence they saw no obstacle to their advance into the town, which stands on a rounded hill bounding the Dockyard Creek. They had now reached a point from which they could operate either on the side of the Dockyard Creek or the inner harbour. If the attack upon the Redan were successful, they could, by scaling the cliff of the Woronzoff Ravine on their right, effect a junction with the stormers; or had the French penetrated into the works covering the town, they would have received powerful help from Eyre's brigade. This latter contingency, however, there was no reason to provide for, as it was never contemplated; and it is one of the most unaccountable features of these operations that, with our immense force, no diversion, far less any real assault, was made on this point: even the artillery of the French lines before the town was silent." Eyre's brigade was not long allowed to occupy unmolested the positions that they had so bravely won, and from which the Russian light infantry had been so precipitately driven by the Royal Irish, for a large force issued from the Garden Batteries, which are on the top of the left cliff of the ravine; these men descended to a long, low breastwork, and opened fire thence with great effect. The light-company men of the 18th picked several off, which roused them apparently to a great

degree of excitement, for they jumped on the parapet, exposing themselves most daringly to the fire of our men, for which many paid the penalty of life. They were obliged at last to seek shelter, so that not a head dare appear above the breastwork. The balls from the Garden Battery ploughed over the ground occupied by the Royal Irish and the 9th, and tore through the houses, dashing the trailer tenements to pieces. Those who were posted in the cemetery suffered from the cannonade, as the tombstones were smashed, and the fragments, driven about, inflicted wounds in every direction. Here the 44th suffered a great deal; the 28th and 38th also incurred loss. Riflemen, descending from the Barrack Battery towards the ravine, took deadly aim, and many fell. From their balls Major-general Eyre was wounded. A circle of fire hemmed in this gallant brigade. The other brigade of General England, commanded by Major-general Barnard, occupied the right slope of the Woronzoff Ravine, thereby leaving Eyre free to push his way to the left, as fortune might favour. Thus he was at the head of a separate little army, and held his ground within the lines of the enemy, in spite of the overwhelming fire directed upon him. The advance of this little corps commenced about four o'clock in the morning, and they held their ground all day, fighting without intermission. It seems perfectly unaccountable that General England's division was not reinforced by Lord Raglan or by Pelissier, although 200,000 men were at the disposal of those chiefs. For a long portion of the day it was not even known what had become of Eyre and his gallant brigade, and no attempt to help or save them was made. The advanced portions of the brigadier's force were engaged in the most desperate conflict. Again and again the Russians endeavoured to force the Royal Irish, and the 9th, by which they were more immediately supported, from the houses and the positions near them which they occupied. One-third of these poor fellows had fallen, but they held every spot of ground with fearless fortitude. As evening advanced, a desperate effort was made to dislodge them, but it was in vain. Two hundred and fifty of these noble Irishmen—more than half their number—lay dead and wounded by nightfall, but the sun set upon them as conquerors. The lines of their national poet, when describing ancestors whose courage they emulated, would well apply to them:—

"Till the moss of the valley grew red with their blood
They stirred not, but conquered, and died."

At night the surrounding batteries were like so many volcanoes pouring forth streams of fire. No spot on the whole area of conflict

was so commanded by batteries, and these gallant men were given up for lost. Still they stirred not: some dressed the wounds of their comrades; some kept ward for their safety; and others fired upon the lurid embrasures from which the messengers of death so plentifully came. Many of the wounded in the houses were buried beneath the walls or roofs as the shot tore through the apartments where they lay. The position was kept until Lord Raglan sent orders for them to retire; and at eleven o'clock at night they abandoned the suburb, but still held the cemetery, out of which no efforts of the enemy afterwards expelled them. They retired doggedly and reluctantly from the houses of the suburb, believing that an advance into the town at the head of reinforcements, for a renewed struggle and renewed victory, would have been their fortune.

During the day Captain Esmond, who commanded the four companies of the Royal Irish in advance, sent for reinforcements and ammunition. A gallant sergeant took his letter; his passage through the storm of grape-shot was a miracle; he reached the head-quarters of the brigade unhurt, and delivered his message. It was pronounced impossible to reinforce them; no troops, it was alleged, could pass through the "fire infernal" that roared across that space. Colonel Edwards, on his hands and knees, crept back with the sergeant. He could only say, "Hold your ground, if possible, until night, and then retire." They held it until night, and for hours after night closed upon them. During seventeen hours these few hundred men of the 18th Royal Irish held a portion of Sebastopol, in spite of every effort the enemy could make to expel them. Of General Eyre's force 650 men were slain or wounded—more than one-third of the whole. The next day the general found an Irish sergeant whose legs had been struck by a cannon-ball. "Well, general," said the intrepid fellow, "we did *our* part, anyhow. I have lost two legs, but if I had four I would give them for your honour and the country." The bravery of the 18th Royal Irish and of the whole of Eyre's brigade was the subject of warm encomium throughout the whole army; and no language of eulogy seemed sufficient to express the admiration of the French for the conduct of those few hundred Irishmen during a day so signalised in both armies by defeat.

The losses of the respective armies will be seen in the despatches of their chiefs, which are appended; and the proclamation of the Russian commander also.

Concerning the capture and abandonment of the cemetery there is a passage in the work of Mr. Russell which, as that work has so wide a circulation, it is necessary to correct. Mr. Russell introduces the passage when relating

the circumstances connected with the burial armistice which followed the unfortunate day:—"The armistice lasted for upwards of two hours; and when it was over we retired from the spot so moistened with our blood. All the advantage we gained by the assault was the capture of the cemetery, and even that we had nearly abandoned, owing to the timidity of one of our generals. As you have already learnt, the men in the cemetery and houses suffered severely during the 18th from the enemy's fire, and the soldiers in the latter were not able to withdraw till nightfall. It was left to one of the generals of division to say what should be done with the cemetery, and he gave orders to abandon it. On the following morning an officer of engineers, Lieutenant Donnelly, heard, to his extreme surprise, that the position for which we had paid so dearly was not in our possession. He appreciated its value—he saw that the Russians had not yet advanced to re-occupy it. With the utmost zeal and energy he set to work among the officers in the trenches, and begged and borrowed some thirty men, with whom he crept down into the cemetery just before the flag of truce was hoisted. As soon as the armistice began the Russians flocked down to the cemetery, which they supposed to be undefended, but, to their great surprise, they found our thirty men posted there as sentries, who warned them back; and in the evening the party was strengthened, and we are now constructing most valuable works and batteries there, in spite of a heavy fire, which occasions us considerable loss. Such is the story that is going the round of the camp. Lord Raglan is said to have found fault with General Eyre for losing so many men, but the latter observed that 'he had done what he was ordered, and that he *had* taken the cemetery.' There can be no doubt but that our troops could have got into the town in the rear of the Redan from the houses on the 18th, had they been strong enough to advance from the cemetery. Whether they could have maintained themselves there under the fire of forts, ships, and batteries, is another question." It will be observed that this account is given as "a story going the round of the camp." That very circumstance would give it currency in England, especially when related by one so well conversant not only with the gossip of the camp, but with its stern realities.

The following, taken from authentic papers, is the real history of the withdrawal of General Eyre's brigade from the cemetery. As soon as General England saw that the intention of Pelissier and Raglan was to retire, after the unsuccessful efforts on the Malakoff and Redan, he galloped off to tell Lord Raglan the state of things on the left, and after some effort found

him going towards General Pelissier's hut in a battery towards the right of the line. There a conference took place on the subject of holding the ground that had been gained on the left, the result of which was that Pelissier dictated a letter, which he gave to Sir Richard to read, and which the marshal sent, in General England's presence, by a dragoon to the left of his force, desiring that a French general of engineers should instantly see whether it was possible to hold Eyre's ground, or advisable; and in the latter case to furnish the requisite troops for that purpose. It was quite evident that the English had no available troops of sufficient amount to do so, especially in that part of the line. As to the third division, they had all been under arms since one in the morning; one brigade of it was still there in advance (Eyre's); the other (Barnard's) was only then retiring from the attack. It was ten o'clock, and this latter brigade was to be in the trenches, on duty and under arms again, at dusk. Support, therefore, was only available from the French.

As soon as Sir Richard reached his tent, he dispatched a communication to General Eyre, telling him of the intentions and wishes of the two commanders-in-chief. He sent this note by Major S. Watley, and said in it that a French officer of rank had been desired to visit this post, and to ascertain how far it was desirable that it should be held. The note was as follows:—"If it is deemed right to hold it, I fancy the French will appoint a force adequate to its being maintained. If it is deemed right to abandon it, you will, in communication with the French officer above alluded to, retire from it, and you will judge for yourself whether you can retire in complete safety until dark: but it is very probable the French general will better and more fully explain these points." General Eyre's answer was dated half-past three, and said, "I have not seen any French officer." "I am of opinion that this position cannot be held by us; it would require too many men—but a portion of it could, viz. the cemetery and the houses in rear of it. The French, I think, ought to hold it." In another note, after General Eyre's return to the camp (he having been wounded), dated 5 P.M., he says, "They have got the range so accurately that we should lose many men if we continued to occupy the forward position we gained. Feeling this, and also the improbability of Lord Raglan's wishing to occupy so advanced a position as this is by us, I have authorised the advanced parties to withdraw. I have seen nothing of the French general. It is possible, though I don't expect it, that the enemy may advance as they (Eyre's brigade) retire." Thus no aid was sent by the French up to these hours;

neither had any general of engineers been there to examine and report, as Pelissier had promised and ordered.

This precise state of things was reported by Sir Richard to Lord Raglan at four o'clock; whereupon Lord Raglan wrote to General England, saying, "General Eyre should be instructed to withdraw, as soon after dark as he may think proper, from his present position, keeping the post in the cemetery, and houses in rear if it is possible. Should the French intend to occupy the position, they would communicate with General Eyre before the close of the day. I am surprised that they have not sent an officer to General Eyre hours ago. General Pelissier made no objection when I proposed it to him. If General Eyre prefers retiring at once, let him do so." Finding nothing done, and not hearing what was doing, General England dispatched a message to Colonel Adams, the officer now supposed to be commanding this brigade (at half-past six), saying that General Barnard was going to the trenches at seven, and begged that he would communicate with him in any way in which he (Barnard) could assist him. Sir Richard's note on this occasion to Colonel Adams ran as follows: "The engineers and Lord Raglan wish to keep the cemetery and houses, but the French must in such case find troops. Possibly a French general has visited you by this time. Adhere, as closely as you can, to the instructions in Lord Raglan's memorandum, which I sent you two hours ago."

To this Colonel Adams replied, *I cannot think it possible to keep the cemetery and houses.* . . . "The French general has not been here yet." Thus the troops got back, with some difficulty as to bringing off the wounded, at about eleven at night, at which time General Barnard, who was and had been on duty in the advanced trenches since seven, wrote to Sir Richard, saying, "I have consulted the engineers as to the advisability of holding the cemetery. Captain B. tells me it would be desirable, but unless in co-operation with the French, we could not hold it. No French have appeared, and I have consequently told Colonel Adams to withdraw his force. Major B. tells me he has neither gabions nor tools sufficient to make a lodgment; but if we had found the French here, and ready to assist us, we could try to do something—but, as it is, there is *nothing left but to evacuate the position.*" Mr. Russell was in error as to the *timidity* of a general of division in abandoning this ground, which, by the foregoing evidence, every one else seemed to view as untenable without French aid, and regarding the giving up of which the general of division in question had less to do than any one else concerned.

General England concurred in thinking all the day that, unless supported, General Eyre's advanced position was *en l'air* and critical. It was decidedly a French question, for the cemetery was as near their lines as ours; they alone had the means of holding it—but if they did not choose to do so (and for which no doubt they had their own reason), it was wholly impossible for us from want of men. The next day, the 19th, or soon afterwards, *boyaux* and covered ways were commenced to connect the high ground of the cemetery with our most advanced parallels. The service of the siege lost nothing, therefore, by this withdrawal from an exposed position which was thus deemed untenable by all, and not of an advantage commensurate with the loss of life essential to hold it; but to visit the general of division with censure—his duties in this case rendering him a mere channel of communication on the subject—was the result on Mr. Russell's part of being misinformed; for all who know anything of that gentleman's courtesy, goodwill, and fairness, are well aware that he is incapable of injustice, or of giving undeserved or unnecessary pain.

It will complete the account of these operations to notice that the next day, for the first time, the allies asked for an armistice to bury the dead. This was conceded reluctantly by the Russians, who did not observe it faithfully, any more than they did truces sought by themselves; contrary to the rules and usages of war, they used the time to repair the breaches in their works. The truce disclosed a horrible scene of slaughter; it was difficult for the most hardened to look on it without emotion, and brave men were seen to shudder. Our wounded, who lay near the abattis of the Redan, and for some distance towards the Quarries, had been watched by Russian riflemen, and *shot when they were seen to move!*—others were carried into the works and treated kindly. This is easily accounted for by the fact that the Polish, Finnish, and German subjects of the czar regarded the allies with partiality—the Muscovite portion of the Russian army with desperate animosity.

Lord Raglan's account was given to the English minister of war in the following terms:—

"I informed your lordship, on the 16th, that new batteries had been completed, and that in consequence the allies would be enabled to resume the offensive against Sebastopol with the utmost vigour. Accordingly, on the 17th, at daylight, a very heavy fire was opened from all the batteries in the English and French trenches, and maintained throughout the day, and the effect produced appeared so satisfactory, that it was determined that the

French should attack the Malakoff works the next morning, and that the English should assail the Redan as soon after as I might consider it desirable. It was at first proposed that the artillery fire should be resumed on the morning of the 18th, and should be kept up for about two hours, for the purpose of destroying any works the enemy might have thrown up in the night, and of opening passages through the abattis that covered the Redan; but on the evening of the 17th it was intimated to me by General Pelissier that he had determined, upon further consideration, that the attack by his troops should take place at three the following morning. The French, therefore, commenced their operations as day broke; and as their several columns came within range of the enemy's fire, they encountered the most serious opposition both from musketry and the guns in the works which had been silenced the previous evening, and, observing this, I was induced at once to order our columns to move out of the trenches upon the Redan. It had been arranged that detachments from the light, second, and fourth divisions, which I placed for the occasion under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir G. Brown, should be formed into three columns; that the right one should attack the left face of the Redan between the flanking batteries; that the centre should advance upon the salient angle; and that the left should move upon the re-entering angle formed by the right face and flank of the work, the first and last preceding the centre column. The flank columns at once obeyed the signal to advance, preceded by covering-parties of the Rifle Brigade, and by sailors carrying ladders and soldiers carrying woolbags; but they had no sooner shown themselves beyond the trenches than they were assailed by a most murderous fire of grape and musketry. Those in advance were either killed or wounded, and the remainder found it impossible to proceed. I never before witnessed such a continued and heavy fire of grape, combined with musketry, from the enemy's works, which appeared to be fully manned; and the long list of killed and wounded in the light and fourth divisions, and the seamen of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Peel, who was unfortunately wounded, though not severely, will show that a very large proportion of those that went forward fell. Major-general Sir John Campbell, who led the left attack, and Colonel Shadforth, of the 57th, who commanded the storming-party under his direction, were both killed, as was also Colonel Yea, of the Royal Fusileers, who led the right column. I cannot say too much in praise of these officers. Major-general Sir J. Campbell had commanded the fourth division from the period of the battle

of Inkerman till the arrival, very recently, of Lieutenant-general Bentinck. He had devoted himself to his duty without any intermission, and had acquired the confidence and respect of all. I most deeply lament his loss. Colonel Shadforth had maintained the efficiency of his regiment by constant attention to all the details of his command; and Colonel Yea was not only distinguished for his gallantry, but had exercised his control of the Royal Fusiliers in such a manner as to win the affections of the soldiers under his orders, and to secure to them every comfort and accommodation which his personal exertions could procure for them.

"I have not any definite information upon the movements of the French columns, and the atmosphere became so obscured by the smoke from the guns and musketry, that it was not possible by personal observation to ascertain their progress, though I was particularly well situated for the purpose; but I understand that their left column, under General d'Autemarre, passed the advanced works of the enemy, and threatened the gorge of the Malakoff Tower; and that the two other columns, under Generals Mayran and Brunet, who both, I regret to say, were killed, met with obstacles equal to those we encountered, and were obliged, in consequence, to abandon the attack. The superiority of our fire on the day we opened, led both General Pelissier and myself, and the officers of the artillery and engineers of the two services, and the armies in general, to conclude that the Russian artillery fire was, in a great measure, subdued, and that the operation we projected could be undertaken with every prospect of success. The result has shown that the resources of the enemy were not exhausted, and that they had still the power, either from their ships or from their batteries, to bring an overwhelming fire upon their assailants. While the direct attack upon the Redan was proceeding, Lieutenant-general Sir R. England was directed to send one of the brigades of the third division, under the command of Major-general Barnard, down the Woronzoff Ravine, with a view to give support to the attacking columns on his right, and the other brigade, under Major-general Eyre, still further to the left, to threaten the works at the head of the Dockyard Creek.

"I have not yet received their reports, and shall not be able to send them to your lordship to-day; but General Eyre was very seriously engaged, and he himself wounded, though, I am happy to say, not severely, and he possessed himself of a church-yard which the enemy had hitherto carefully watched, and some houses within the place; but, as the town front was not attacked, it became necessary to withdraw his brigade at night. I am concerned to have to inform you that Lieutenant-colonel Tylden,

of the Royal Engineers, whose services I have had the greatest pleasure in bringing so frequently to your lordship's notice, is very severely wounded. The account I received of him this morning is upon the whole satisfactory, and I entertain strong hopes that his valuable life will be preserved.

"I feel greatly indebted to Sir G. Brown for the manner in which he conducted the duties I entrusted to him; and my warmest acknowledgments are due to Major-general Harry Jones, not only for his valuable assistance on the present occasion, but for the able, zealous, and energetic manner in which he has conducted the siege operations since he assumed the command of the Royal Engineers. He received a wound from a grape-shot in the forehead yesterday, which, I trust, will not prove serious. I brought up the first division from the vicinity of Balaklava as a reserve, and I shall retain them on these heights. The Sardinian troops, under General la Marmora, and the Turkish troops, under Omar Pasha, crossed the Tchernaya on the 17th inst., and occupy positions in front of Tchorgoum. They have not come in contact with any large body of the enemy."

General Pelissier's despatch was as follows :

"Since the capture of the external works on the 7th of June, I had rapidly made every arrangement to make them the basis of our attack against the *enceinte* itself of the Karabelnaia. We armed them with powerful artillery; the Russian communications and *places d'armes* were turned to our own use; the ground-plan of attack studied in detail; the allied armies had their respective tasks allotted to them. The English were to storm the Great Redan, and we were to carry the Malakoff Tower, the Redan of the Careening Bay, and the intrenchments which cover the extremity of the faubourg. It is superfluous, M. le Maréchal, to point out to your excellency what would have been the result of such an operation if it had succeeded. Since our last successes, the attitude of the enemy and the enthusiasm of our troops promised victory. There was no time to be lost. In concert with Lord Raglan, on the 17th, we poured a crushing fire into Sebastopol, especially into the works we intended storming. At an early hour the enemy ceased replying from the Malakoff and from the Redan. It is probable they were economising their batteries and fire, and that they did not suffer so much from the effects of our artillery as we were led to presume. However that may be, the superiority of our guns confirmed us in our plan for making an assault on the 18th, and on the night before we made all the necessary arrangements for a general movement on the morrow.

"Three divisions were to take part in the combat—the divisions of Mayran and Brunet, of the second corps; the division of Autemarre of the first. The division of the imperial guard formed the reserve. Mayran's division had the right attack, and was to carry the intrenchments which extend from the Battery of the Point to the Redan of Careening Bay. Brunet's division was to turn the Malakoff on the right. D'Autemarre's division was to manœuvre on the left to carry that important work. General Mayran's task was a difficult one. His first brigade, commanded by Colonel Saurin, of the 3rd Zouaves, was to advance from the ravine of Careening Bay as far as the aqueduct, to creep along the left hill-side of the ravine, avoiding as much as possible the fire of the enemy's lines, and to turn the Battery of the Point by the gorge. The 2nd brigade, commanded by General de Failly, was to make an attempt on the right of the Redan of Careening Bay. They were provided with everything necessary to scale the works. The special reserve of this division consisted of two battalions of the 1st regiment of the voltigeurs of the guard. All these troops were ready at their post at an early hour. Brunet's division had one of its brigades in advance and to the right of the Brancion Redoubt (Mamelon), the other in the parallel in the rear and to the right of that redoubt. A similar arrangement was made as regards D'Autemarre's division: Niel's brigade in advance and to the left of the Mamelon; Breton's brigade in the parallel in the rear. Two batteries of artillery, which could be served *à la bricole*, were placed behind the Brancion Redoubt (Mamelon), ready to occupy the enemy's positions in case we succeeded in carrying them. The division of the imperial guard, forming the general reserve of the three attacks, was drawn up in a body in the rear of the Victoria Redoubt.

"I selected the Lancaster Battery for my post, from which I was to give the signal by star-rockets for the general advance. Notwithstanding great difficulties of ground, notwithstanding the obstacles accumulated by the enemy, and although the Russians, evidently informed of our plans, were on their guard, ready to repel an attack, I am inclined to think that if the attack could have been general and instantaneous on the whole extent of the line—if there had been a simultaneous action and *ensemble* in the efforts of our brave troops—the object would have been achieved. Unhappily, it was not so, and an inconceivable fatality caused us to fail.

"I was still at more than 1000 metres from the place whence I was to give the signal, when a violent fire of musketry, intermixed with grape, apprised me that the combat had

commenced seriously on the right. In fact, a little before 3 A.M., General Mayran fancied he recognised my signal in a shell with a blazing fusee, sent up from the Brancion Redoubt. It was in vain that he was informed of his mistake. This brave and unfortunate general gave the order for the attack. The Saurin and De Failly columns immediately rushed forward; the first rush was magnificent; but scarcely were these heads of columns in march, when a shower of balls and grape was poured in upon them. This crushing fire came not only from the works which we wished to carry, but also from the enemy's steamers, which came up at full steam, and manœuvred with great skill and effect. We, however, caused them some damage. This prodigious fire stopped the efforts of our troops. It became impossible for our soldiers to advance, but not a man retired one step. It was at this moment that General Mayran, already hit in two places, was knocked down by a grape-shot, and was compelled to resign the command of his division. All this was the work of a moment, and General Mayran was already carried off the field of battle when I sent up the signal from the Lancaster Battery. The other troops then advanced to support the premature movement of the right division. That valiant division, for a moment disconcerted by the loss of its general, promptly rallied at the voice of General de Failly. The troops engaged, supported by the 2nd battalion of the 95th of the line, and by a battalion of the voltigeurs of the guard, under the orders of the brave Colonel Boudville, held a footing in a bend of the ground where the general places them, and boldly maintain their position there. Informed, however, of this position, which might become critical, I ordered General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély to send four battalions of the voltigeurs of the guard, taken from the general reserve, to the support of that division. General Mellinet-Uhrich marched with that fine body of men, rallied the stragglers in the ravine of Careening Bay, and gave a solid support to General de Failly, by occupying the bottom of the ravine.

"General Mellinet, in person, advanced to the right of General de Failly at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, placed the evening before to defend the ravine, and was of great service to him by covering his right. The attack on the centre was equally unfortunate. General Brunet had not yet completed all his arrangements when the signal-rockets were fired. The whole of the right was already prematurely engaged for more than twenty to twenty-five minutes. The troops, nevertheless, resolutely advanced; but their valour was of no avail against the well-sustained fire of the Russians, and against

unforeseen obstacles. At the very outset, General Brunet fell mortally wounded by a ball in the chest. The flag of the 91st was cut in two by a ball; but it is needless to add that its fragments were brought back by that gallant regiment. General Lafont de Villiers took the command of the division, and entrusted that of the troops engaged to Colonel Lorencez. The latter held firm while the remainder of the division occupied the trenches to provide against the eventualities of the combat. To the left, General d'Autemarre could not go into action before Brunet's division, nor could he explain the hasty fusillade he heard in the direction of Careening Bay; but at the signal agreed upon for the attack, he threw forward with impetuosity the 5th *Chasseurs-à-pied* and the 1st battalion of the 19th of the line, which, following the ridge of the Karabelnaia ravine, arrived at the intrenchment which connects it with the Malakoff Tower, scaled the intrenchment, and entered into the *enceinte* itself. The sappers of the engineers were already placing the scaling-ladders for the remainder of the 19th and 26th regiments, who were hurrying up by order of General d'Autemarre, to follow his gallant column. For an instant we believed in success. Our eagles were planted on the Russian works. Unhappily, that hope was promptly dispelled. Our allies had met with such obstacles in their attack upon the Grand Redan, they had been received with such a fearful shower of grape, that, despite their well-known tenacity, they had already been obliged to beat a retreat. Such was the spirit of our troops, that, despite this circumstance, they would have pushed on and charged down upon the enemy; but the want of simultaneity in the attack of our divisions permitted the Russians to fall upon us with their reserves and with the artillery of the Great Redan, and the enemy did not lose a moment in advancing all the other reserves of the Karabelnaia against our brave *Chasseurs-à-pied*.

"Before so imposing a force Commandant Garnier, of the fifth battalion, already struck by five balls, endeavoured, but in vain, to maintain the conquered ground. Compelled to give way to numbers, he recrossed the intrenchments. General Niel came up to support his brigade, reinforced by the 30th of the line; a new offensive movement was attempted, to ensure the success of the new effort; and on a message from General d'Autemarre, to the effect that his reserve was reduced to the 74th of the line, I sent him the regiment of Zouaves of the guard; but on the arrival of those hardy veterans of our African campaigns, as the movement had no longer any desirable *ensemble* for so vigorous a blow, with a single division without support either on the right or on the

left, and cut up by the artillery of the Redan, the attack upon which had been relinquished by our allies, I at once saw that all chance of success was over. Another effort would have led to useless bloodshed. It was half-past eight o'clock, and I ordered a general retreat to the trenches. This movement was carried out proudly, with order and coolness, and without the enemy following us on any point. A portion of the Russian trenches remained even occupied by some of our men, who evacuated them gradually, without the enemy daring to turn their advantage to account against them.

"Our losses have been great. We took care, at the very commencement of the action, to carry off most of our wounded; but a certain number of those glorious dead remained lying on the glacis or in the ditches of the place. The last duties were rendered to them the following day. Besides General Brunet and General Mayran (who died during the night), we have to deplore the loss of an officer beloved and appreciated by the whole army, the young and brave lieutenant-colonel of artillery, De la Boussinière, killed while scaling the reverse of a trench obstructed by troops on his way from one of the batteries to the Brancion Redoubt. It is a great loss; in him were the germs of future promise. A number of brave superior officers have been wounded while showing the most noble example. The officers of the staff and of the troops worthily performed their duties, and the conduct of the men was admirable everywhere. We had thirty-seven officers killed, and seventeen taken prisoners; 1544 non-commissioned officers and privates killed or missing. On the evening of the 18th, ninety-six officers, and 1644 men went to the ambulances. Many wounds, at first thought very serious, will ultimately prove not to be so. The bearers of these honourable scars will shortly rejoin their colours.

"These losses have not shaken either the ardour or the confidence of these valiant divisions. They only ask to make the enemy pay dearly for this day's work. The hope and the will to conquer are in every heart, and all count upon it that in the next struggle fortune will not play false to valour."

The above was addressed to Marshal Vailant, the French minister of war.

On the 19th of June, Prince Gortschakoff issued the following exultant proclamation to the Russian troops:—

"Comrades!—The sanguinary combat of yesterday, and the defeat of a despairing enemy, have again crowned our arms with immortal laurels. Russia owes you a debt of gratitude, which she will pay. Thousands of our comrades in arms have sealed with their

blood the oath they have taken, and have thus redeemed the word I gave to the emperor, our common father. Accept my best thanks for it.

"Comrades! considerable reinforcements are on their way to us from every part of our holy Russia. They will soon be here. Oppose, as you have hitherto done, your manly chests to the murderous balls of our impious enemies, and die as thousands of our comrades have hitherto done, sword in hand, in an honourable struggle, man against man, chest against chest, rather than violate the oath you have sworn to the emperor and to our country to keep Sebastopol.

"Soldiers! the enemy is beaten, driven back with enormous loss. Allow your commander to repeat his gratitude to you in the name of the emperor, our august monarch, in the name of our country, of our holy and orthodox Russia. The hour is approaching when the pride of the enemy will be lowered, their armies swept from our soil like chaff blown away by the wind. Till then let us put trust in God, and let us fight for the emperor and for our country.

"Let this order of the day be read to every company and squadron of the army."

CHAPTER XCI.

DEATH OF VARIOUS OFFICERS OF DISTINCTION IN THE ALLIED ARMIES.—DECEASE OF LORD RAGLAN: HIS FUNERAL.—GENERAL SIMPSON SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND.—PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

"Some of my heroes are low; I hear the sound of death on the harp."—OSSIAN.

WHEN the burial rites permitted by the truce had been performed, and the reports of the different divisions had been made, it was seen that the loss of the allied armies was not only numerically great, but many men of mark in every degree of rank had fallen. Death had not only been busy in the trench, and on the hill-side, but in the tent also. Cholera was rife, and numbered many victims among the officers and men of all the armies on the plateau and the plain, during the month of June. As this pestilence lingered in the armies during their occupation of the Crimea, it was apprehended that the hot month of June would afford it scope, and this apprehension was unhappily confirmed. The Sardinian army of 15,000 men lost 1000 in three weeks. General Marmora, brother to the commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army, was one of its victims; several of Omar Pasha's most promising officers succumbed to its power; the French, especially those encamped in the valley of the Tchernaya, lost many men and officers; and the British also contributed their proportion to this silent and insatiate foe.

The death of gallant officers during the month was signal. Young men of the highest promise, both in the naval and military service of England, perished. Such men as Lyons and Kidd were to be regretted, if only for the moral effect of their loss. General Sir John Campbell, Colonel Yea, and many others were struck down, when the hope of the army was directed to them; and this black month of death, in the history of the Crimean campaign, was terminated by the sudden removal of the English chief—Lord Raglan was also numbered among the offerings which his country sacrificed on the altar of victory. Before detailing the circumstances of his decease, we shall

present to the reader brief notices of a few officers of humbler rank who died in their country's service.

On the 24th June Major-general Estcourt, adjutant-general of the British army, was numbered among the dead. He died after an illness of nine days. Few men ever held such a position who were more respected and beloved. He was an amiable and good man, but not a man of military genius, or even military talent. His powers were common-place; his virtues rare. Six days before he allowed himself to be considered ill he was under the influence of diarrhoea, which then assumed the symptoms of cholera. For three days he struggled with this new type of the disease; but although a man of great physical power, he was vanquished in the struggle. His wife and another female relative attended upon him, and were the earthly consolations of his parting moments. Lord Raglan and the whole staff of the army took his death greatly to heart, and a profound impression seemed to pervade the whole of the allied hosts. General Estcourt's high position made him of course well known to the officers of all the allied armies, and to many of the men, and his virtues were embalmed in his country's memory—

"Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,
Like the night-dew that falls on the grass o'er his head."

Lieutenant Thomas Molyneux Graves, of the Royal Engineers, was one of those who fell on the 18th of June; he was the eldest son of John Samuel Graves, Esq., barrister-at-law, of Castledawson, county of Derry, and Burlington Street, Bath; grandson of General Sir Thomas Molyneux, of Castledillon, Ireland, and of Admiral Samuel Graves; and grandnephew of Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, K.C.B. He was

born in 1830, and after a suitable scholastic career, he entered the Royal Engineers. He volunteered from Gibraltar in the summer of 1854, accompanied the British army into Turkey, and thence to the Crimea, where he was present in all the early engagements of the campaign, and endured the hardships of the trenches with uncommon courage and cheerfulness. His labours continued up to the 18th of June, 1855; when he fell whilst conducting one of the sealing-parties in the attack on the Redan. When found, his body lay near that of the gallant Sir J. Campbell, and both were covered with wounds. Lieutenant Graves, and Lieutenant Lowry, his cousin, were interred by moonlight, on the 19th, in the grave-yard of the Royal Engineers, where their fellow-officers shortly afterwards raised an humble slab to their memory.

Lieutenant Thomas Osborne Kidd, R.N., of her majesty's ship *Albion*, was one of the most brave and humane officers that served her majesty by land or sea. He fell on the 18th of June, while serving in the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol. He was a native of the city of Armagh, and the eldest son of Joseph Kidd, Esq., barrister-at-law, and Mary Anna, daughter of the late Thomas Morgrill, Esq., also a barrister, of Tullillease, in the county of Cork. Lieutenant Kidd entered the navy at the age of fourteen, and at the time of his death had nearly completed a cycle of ten years, the greater part of which was passed in service on foreign stations. In the spring of 1846, he sailed in the *Dido*, 18, Captain Balfour Maxwell, for New Zealand, going out by the Cape of Good Hope, and the Indian Archipelago, and returning, after three years, by Cape Horn. In the following year he departed for the West Indies, on board the *Wellesley*, 72, bearing the flag of Admiral the Earl of Dundonald, and afterwards in the *Helen*, 18, Commander De Courci. Under this excellent officer he served two years, and became familiar with the coasts and harbours on that station, from Newfoundland to British Guiana, returning to England in 1851, a thorough and most accomplished seaman. He now applied himself to the more scientific branches of his profession, first passing through the *Excellent* gunnery ship, and afterwards studying in the Naval College at Portsmouth, where he obtained first-class certificates in all the branches relating to steam, fortification, gunnery, &c. In June, 1853, he was appointed to the *Highflyer*, 21, Captain Moore, as gunnery-mate, and sailed for the Grecian Archipelago, having visited Venice, Athens, &c., showing, in the admirable letters sent home at that time, the delight he experienced in visiting those scenes. During part of this cruise, the *Highflyer* had on board the Earl of Carlisle, then engaged on his eastern

tour. At the bombardment of Odessa, Mr. Kidd commanded one of the rocket-boats; on that occasion he wrote, "Pulling close in shore to get a few sure shots at them, two 12-pounder field-pieces opened upon us from among the houses along the beach, about 150 yards off; in a moment the water was boiling around us with grape and case-shot. It was odd to see them loading away, and the next instant to hear the whiz over your head, and the splash at the other side of you. I felt the spray on my cheek; I consider it my *bâtême du feu*. I have enjoyed nothing so much since that hunt I had in my midshipman's jacket, after I was paid off in the *Dido*. We pulled under the *Sampson* for protection, but it was some time before she could thunder them into silence." He was next present at the reduction of Redout Kaleh, by Sir E. Lyons. In the month of June his commission of lieutenant rewarded him for his conduct at Odessa, and he was thereupon removed to the *Sanspareil*. He was shortly after summoned to the *Britannia*, 120, as acting gunnery-lieutenant, and served in her during the embarkation and landing of the troops in the Crimea. At this time he expressed in his correspondence the pleasure it occasioned him in having for messmates Mr. Layard, the author of "Eothen," and William Howard Russell, the *Times'* correspondent. From this period his letters evinced the lively interest he took in the movements of the allied armies, up to the bombardment of the forts on the 17th of October, which afforded him the opportunity he so much desired of sharing in the operations of the troops. He was among the first to volunteer for the Naval Brigade, and passed his first watch in the trenches early in the month of December. His perseverance and zeal never abated under the rigours of the winter or the fatigues of the siege. After having escaped the perils of four bombardments, and after passing unscathed through the fearful struggle of the 18th of June, he finally laid down his life, not merely in the presence of the enemy, but in the performance of an act which places his name and memory in the foremost ranks of those who, inspired with a sublime devotion, have died martyrs to heaven-born heroism and humanity. It would be easy to multiply letters and despatches written on the occasion of his death, but the following must suffice:—Captain Sir Stephen Lushington, R.N., in an official despatch to Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., wrote, "Sir—It is with extreme regret I have to report the death of Lieutenant Kidd, who fell on the 18th instant. After bringing the remains of his party safely into the trenches, he again returned to the open to recover some wounded men, and in this gallant act of devotion to his duty he was shot through the body

with a rifle-ball, and died shortly after reaching the camp. Lieutenant Kidd was an honour to the brigade, and her majesty's service has lost one of its most promising young officers." The amiable and loving spirit of this officer may be judged from the following letter to his mother:—"I have written my letter so close that I am at a loss to fill up the last page. If I wrote to any of my friends, I should have to say just the same things over again that I have written to you; but to none, dear mamma, in the world could my words be intended to convey the warm affection which I owe and retain for you and the dear ones at home. I remember, in some of your letters long ago, you used to think that I seemed to outgrow your claims; but I trust and know, now that I am a man, that such can never, never be. You are my mamma, the same now as in College Street, and at all times my only regret is that I can do little more than tell you what I feel in testimony of my love. I am still a child when I think of you; and I still nightly pray God, in the same words as of old, to make me a good child for Christ's sake. Amen. That comprehends all I wish for—to be a good child to you and papa—it means everything."

Another heroic man who fell during the month was Captain Wray. A monument to his honour, in the city of Dublin, affords by its inscription an elegant and brief testimony to his worth. It was erected to the memory of this gallant soldier, in the elegant little chapel of St. Stephen, Upper Mount Street. It is of white marble, and the inscription is as follows:—"Sacred to the memory of the late Captain Jackson Wray, of the 88th Connaught Rangers, who fell before Sebastopol on the night of the 7th of June, 1855, after the storming, and while holding the Russian advanced works, well known as the Quarries. This tablet is erected to his memory by his mourning and deeply afflicted parents, Hugh Boyd Wray and Anne Wray, as a record of their heartfelt sorrow for a dearly beloved and only child, and as a memorial of all he was to them as a fond, dutiful son, and of the worth, true courage, and unaffected piety, by which he was distinguished, as a friend, a gentleman, a soldier, and a Christian.

'We mourn for one whose honoured name will stand
Foremost amid the valiant of the land;
Yet, better far, we know to him 'twas given
To be the soldier of his Lord in heaven.'

'They shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day that I make up my jewels.'—Malachi iii. 17." Above this inscription is sculptured in relief a soldier of the 88th, in a mourning attitude, standing over the colours of the regiment, a drum, and other insignia of war. On the upper border of the tablet are the words "Crimea—Alma—Inkerman," and beneath

the whole is the Wray crest, with the family motto in Norman-French—"Et Juste et Vray."

We have selected the names of these officers because their rank in the army was humble—the names of those of more exalted rank have received such an extensive tribute of respect through the pages of our periodical literature, that it is but just to notice those who filled a less prominent place in the public attention, but were not less worthy of the public regard.

The death of Lord Raglan, although it had no very important effect upon the progress or subsequent character of the siege, is too remarkable an event not to receive some extended notice in a History of the War. A memoir of this officer's services, and estimates of his military character and aptitudes, have been already given in our pages; we only need, therefore, to notice the circumstances attending his funeral.

Shortly after the death of General Estcourt, Lord Raglan became seriously ill. The death of his friend the adjutant-general, the loss of many men and officers on the 18th, his impaired confidence in the talents and prudence of Pelissier, the disheartening effect of the defeat, his apprehension of what the public impression would be in England, fatigue, anxiety, and age,—all produced their effects, and prepared him for the stealthy approach of the formidable enemy which struck so many blows within his own camp. Cholera, preceded by premonitory diarrhoea, which, as in General Estcourt's case, and in almost all fatal cases, was neglected, deprived the English army of its chief. His last public act was the issuing of the following general order:—

"The field-marshal has the satisfaction of publishing to the army the following extract from a telegraphic despatch from Lord Panmure, dated the 22nd of June:—

"I have her majesty's commands to express her grief that so much bravery should not have been rewarded with merited success, and to assure her brave troops that her majesty's confidence in them is entire."

Soon after this order became known to the army, the electric telegraph brought from head-quarters to the different divisional camps the following:—

Sebastopol, June 29.

"It becomes my most painful duty to announce to the army the death of its beloved commander, Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., which melancholy event took place last night about nine o'clock. In the absence of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, the command of the troops devolves on me, as the next senior officer present, until further orders are

received from England. Generals of divisions and heads of departments will be pleased to conduct their respective duties as heretofore.

“J. SIMPSON, *Lieutenant-general*.”

The feeling throughout the English camp created by this intelligence was thus laconically communicated by Mr. Russell:—“There is great feeling of regret evinced throughout the camp at the loss of Lord Raglan. His death appears to have at once stilled every other feeling but that of respect for his memory, and remembrance of the many long years he faithfully and untiringly served his country.”

The arrangements for Lord Raglan's funeral were such as to do all possible honour to the fallen chief. They were thus described by General Simpson, in a letter to the War-office:

“I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that the remains of our late lamented Commander-in-chief, Field-marshal Lord Raglan, were removed from head-quarters to Kazatch Bay on Tuesday, the 3rd instant, and placed on board her majesty's ship *Curadoc*, which departed for England that same evening.

Nothing could be more imposing than the whole line of this melancholy procession. The day was fine, and the appearance of the allied troops splendid. As many as could be spared from duty in the trenches, and with safety to their camp, were collected, and the procession moved from the door of this house exactly at 4 P.M., in the following order:—

In the court-yard of the house was stationed a guard of honour of 100 men of the Grenadier Guards, with their drums and regimental colours; fifty men, with one field-officer, one captain, and one subaltern, from the Royal Sappers and Miners and from each regiment, lined the road from the British to the French head-quarters—a distance of about a mile; a squadron of cavalry was stationed on the right of the line, two batteries of artillery and a squadron of cavalry on the left of it; the infantry were commanded by Major-general Eyre, C.B.

The road from the French head-quarters to Kazatch Bay was lined throughout the whole way by the infantry of the French Imperial Guard and of the 1st corps; bands were stationed at intervals and played as the procession passed, and field-batteries (French) at intervals, on the high grounds right and left of the road, fired minute guns.

The procession to escort the body was as follows:—

Two squadrons of British Cavalry (12th Lancers).

Two squadrons of Piedmontese Light Cavalry.

Four squadrons of French Chasseurs d'Afrique (1st and 4th regiments.)

Four squadrons of French Cuirassiers (2nd and 9th regiments).

Two troops of French Horse Artillery.

Major Brandling's troop of Horse Artillery.

The coffin, covered with a black pall, fringed with white silk, and the union jack, and surmounted by the late Field-marshal's cocked-hat and sword, and a garland of ‘Immortels,’ placed there by General Pelissier, was carried on a platform, fixed upon a 9-pounder gun, drawn by horses of Captain Thomas's troop Royal Horse Artillery.

At the wheels of the gun-carriage rode General Pelissier, commander-in-chief of the French army; his highness Omar Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army; General Della Marmora, commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army; and Lieutenant-general Simpson, commander-in-chief of the English army.

Charger of the late Field-marshal, led by two mounted orderlies.

Relations and personal Staff of the late Field-marshal.

Generals and other officers of the French, Sardinian, and Turkish armies, a large number of whom attended.

British Commissioners to Foreign armies.

British General Officers and their Staffs.

Staff of Head-quarters.

One officer of each regiment of Cavalry and Infantry; Royal Sappers and Miners, and Land Transport Corps; two from the Naval Brigade, Royal Marines, Medical and Commissariat Staff, and three from the Royal Artillery.

Personal escorts of the allied Commanders-in-chief.

The personal escort of the late Field-marshal (Captain Chetwode's troop of the 8th Hussars).

A field-battery of the Royal Artillery.

Two squadrons of British Cavalry (4th Dragoon Guards).

Detachment of mounted Staff Corps.

The escort was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Dupuis, Royal Horse Artillery.

Two field-batteries of the Royal Artillery, stationed on the hill opposite the house, fired a salute of nineteen guns when the procession moved off.

The united bands of the 3rd, 9th, and 62nd regiments, stationed in the vineyard that surrounds the house, played the ‘Dead March.’

The band of the Sardinian Grenadiers was stationed half way to the French head-quarters, and the band of the 10th Hussars on the left of the line.

The approach to the wharf at Kazatch Bay was lined by detachments of the Royal Marines and sailors.

The body was received on the wharf by Admiral Bruat and Rear-admiral Stewart, C.B.,

and a large number of officers of the combined fleets. The launch of the British flag-ship, towed by men-of-war boats, conveyed the coffin to the *Caradoc*, the boats of the combined fleets forming an escort; and the troop and battery of the Royal Artillery included in the escort formed upon the rising ground above the bay, and fired a salute of nineteen guns as the coffin left the shore.

Everything was well conducted, and no accident occurred.

Thus terminated the last honours that could be paid by his troops to their beloved commander. His loss to us here is inexpressible, and will, I am sure, be equally felt by his country at home. The sympathy of our allies is universal and sincere. His name and memory are all that remain to animate us in the difficulties and dangers to which we may be called."

The *Caradoc*, in which his lordship embarked from England and arrived in the East, was, by one of those strange coincidences which sometimes occur, the ship which bore his remains from the Crimea to his native land, in which they were destined to be laid.

The sight by land and sea was picturesque and imposing. The varied uniforms of four armies glistening in the bright July sun, the dull sound of the muffled drums and the minute-guns, the plaintive music of the French bands as the instruments seemed to wail forth their melancholy music,—all combined to produce an effect upon the imagination most peculiar. In the harbour the scene was equally striking. Boats covered its entire surface; these were filled with seamen, whose appearance, clad in white frocks and bearing uplifted oars, produced a strange impression. As the boat bore his remains away, the guns of the allied hosts thundered forth a sublime farewell over the tranquil waters, and the cliffs echoed the parting salutation.

Sir George Brown was second in command, but he was ordered by a medical board to return home, and that day, some hours before the decease of his chief, he had embarked. He thus, after all his hard fighting and toil, lost the honour of commanding the army, to which, by seniority, he was entitled. On the 1st of July a telegraphic message from England confirmed Sir James Simpson in the command.

We have in the course of this History treated with justice of the virtues and defects of Lord Raglan as commander-in-chief. Some have thought that his decease in the service of his country ought to silence all criticism as to his command, but probity forbids this. We concur in the language of the *Times* upon this subject, written in defence of its own just estimate of his command:—"Lord Raglan holds the first place in these transactions. The

respect paid to one who is dead, who died, too, if not on the field of battle, at any rate surrounded by the dangers and responsibilities of war, has hitherto closed the mouth of criticism. But the maxim of speaking only good of the dead may be carried too far. In the first moment of a family's grief, in the first days of a nation's natural regret for an old and honest soldier who has died in its cause, it is certainly well to be reserved and merciful. But a commander-in-chief is an historical character, his doings for good or ill are legitimate subjects of discussion, and the lapse of a year precludes the appearance of unseemly attacks on a newly-raised tomb."

General Pelissier put forth the following order of the day upon the morning of the 19th of June, in which a handsomely-expressed tribute is paid to the merits of the departed hero:—

"Death has just surprised in his command Field-marshal Lord Raglan, and has plunged the English army in grief. We share the regrets of our brave allies. Those who knew Lord Raglan, who were acquainted with the history of his noble life, so pure, so rich in services rendered to his country—those who witnessed his bravery on the fields of Alma and Inkerman, who remember the calm and stoic grandeur of his character during this severe and memorable campaign,—all men of heart, in fact, must deplore the loss of such a man. The sentiments which the commander-in-chief expresses are those of the whole army. He himself severely feels this unforeseen blow. The public sorrow falls more heavily upon him as he has the additional regret of being forever separated from a companion in arms whose cordial spirit he loved, whose virtues he admired, and in whom he always found loyal and hearty co-operation."

A still more fervent tribute of respect to his memory was paid by the enemy. Lord Raglan was no enemy to Russia, he saw his country involved in war with that power with deep personal regret. His political opinions and sympathies were not anti-Russian, except so far as duty constrained; he had more sympathy with the czar than with the French emperor—with Russia than with France. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that the organs of the Russian government should do him honour. In *Le Nord* the following estimate of his character and expression of respect for his memory and remains was published soon after his decease:—"Lord Raglan has died; during the entire period of the command of this noble general, he succeeded in conciliating the esteem and respect not only of those with whom his nation was allied, but also of the enemy to whom he was opposed. He was one of the

last of the heroes of that glorious English army which, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, illustrated the English name on so many battle-fields, and of which the few remaining veterans bore on their breast, till lately, the honourable tokens. Lord Raglan was, on several occasions, distinguished by the late Emperor Nicholas, as also by the reigning emperor. He will be personally regretted in Russia by all who had an opportunity of knowing and appreciating the nobleness of his sentiments and the uprightness of his character. As a subject, he performed his duty by obeying the command of his sovereign; and as a soldier, he valiantly defended the honour of his flag; but even in the execution of his duty he preserved unblemished to his death his own personal dignity and that of his country. He has fallen, like so many others, a victim to this disastrous war. Honoured be his memory, and respected be his grave, which will be as sacred on the soil of Russia as on that of England; and, while pointing to it, no Russian will refuse to say, '*Siste, viator, heroem cales.*'"

The extraordinary loss of life in June by disease and battle, rendered many changes necessary in the general staff of the army. Colburn's *United Service Magazine* gave the following list of changes consequent on the vicissitudes of that disastrous month:—

"Major-general Barnard succeeds General Pennefather in the command of the Second Division.

Major-general Codrington gets the Light Division, vice Sir George Brown.

Colonel Van Straubenzee (the Buffs) takes command of the First Brigade, Light Division.

Colonel the Hon. A. Spencer, 44th Regiment, takes command of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, with the pay and allowance of colonel on the staff, until Her Majesty's pleasure is known.

Colonel Barlow, 14th Regiment, will for the present take command of the First Brigade, Third Division.

The 3rd and 31st Regiments join the Second Division.

The 72nd joins the First Division.

The 13th Regiment is attached to the Fourth Division, but will for the present remain for duty at Balaklava.

Captain R. Luard, 77th Regiment, is placed on the staff of the army to act as Deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, or Deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, as his services may be required. He is, for the present, attached to head-quarters.

Lieutenant-colonel Hon. W. Pakenham succeeds General Estcourt."

These arrangements subsequently underwent further changes—a few officers having arrived

in the Crimea from home, and some invalids arriving from Scutari, Constantinople, and Malta. Finally, General Simpson completed the organisation of his staff, and the divisional and brigade arrangements were as follow:—

FIRST DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Lord Rokeby.

First Brigade:—3rd battalion Grenadier Guards; 1st battalion Coldstreams; 1st battalion Scots Fusilier Guards; 56th. Brigadier-general Crauford.

Second Brigade:—9th; 13th; 31st; 2nd battalion Rifles. Brigadier, Colonel Ridley.

HIGHLAND DIVISION.—Lieut.-general Sir Colin Campbell.

First Brigade:—42nd; 72nd; 79th; 93rd. Brigadier-general Cameron.

Second Brigade:—1st and 2nd battalions 1st Royals; 71st; 90th. Brigadier, Colonel Horn.

SECOND DIVISION.—Major-general Markham.

First Brigade:—3rd; 30th; 55th; 95th. Brigadier, Colonel Warren.

Second Brigade:—41st; 47th; 49th; 62nd. Brigadier, Colonel Windham (temporary).

THIRD DIVISION.—Major-general Eyre. [After General England was invalided in August.]

First Brigade:—4th; 14th; 39th; 50th; 89th. Brigadier-colonel Barlow.

Second Brigade:—18th; 28th; 38th; 44th. Brigadier-general Trollope.

FOURTH DIVISION.—Major-general Bentinck.

First Brigade:—17th; 20th; 21st; 57th; 63rd. Brigadier-general the Hon. Spencer.

Second Brigade:—46th; 48th; 68th; 1st battalion Rifles. Brigadier-general Garrett.

LIGHT DIVISION.—Lieut.-general Sir W. Codrington.

First Brigade:—7th; 23rd; 33rd; 34th. Brigadier-general Straubenzee.

Second Brigade:—19th; 77th; 88th; 97th. Brigadier-general Shirley.

CAVALRY.—Lieutenant-general Sir James Yorke Scarlett.

First (Heavy) Brigade:—1st Dragoon Guards; 4th Dragoon Guards; 5th Dragoon Guards; 1st Dragoons; 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys); 6th (Emuikillen) Dragoons. Brigadier-general Laurenson.

Second (Light) Brigade:—4th Light Dragoons; 13th Light Dragoons; 12th Lancers; 6th Dragoon Guards. Brigadier-general Lord George Paget.

Third (Hussar) Brigade:—8th Hussars; 10th Hussars; 11th Hussars; 17th Lancers. Brigadier-general Parby.

During the month of July, cholera continued to harass the allied armies, and several in the naval batteries fell under its power. Diarrhoea, dysentery, and Crimean fever also numbered their victims, and several men in almost every corps died of exhaustion from overtaken energies. The aggregate numbers that perished during June and July, from all these causes, were such as to cause painful anxieties. No rank was spared—from the commissariat, or land-transport labourer, to the adjutant-general and the commander-in-chief, the British army severely suffered.

Both French and English pushed on their works with vigour, so that while the siege appeared to be progressing but slowly, it was, in fact, rapidly advancing to its grand finale. The pick and the spade were now the implements most relied on. The French worked on towards the Malakoff, the English towards the Redan; the soil did not favour either, but the English, in this respect, had the hardest

task, the rocky nature of the ground in which they had to excavate their approaches bid defiance to their utmost exertions to proceed with the rapidity of their allies, and in some places rendered it difficult for them to proceed at all. As the works advanced nearer to those of the enemy, the loss of life from his artillery and rifles increased. There were occasional heavy cannonades, and the Russians made several sorties on a minor scale, which were invariably repulsed. These sorties were so identical in their *modus operandi* with those already related that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. The Russians preserved their characteristic vigilance, and worked with their wonted industry. The approaches were pertinaciously extended by the allies, and the defence as obstinately maintained.

On the 10th of July, a heavy fire was opened upon the Redan, which the enemy severely felt, many guns and embrasures were shattered, and many men were killed. Batteries were erected by the French and British to cannonade the Russian ships, whose fire was so destructive to our advancing columns on the 18th of June; but little damage was inflicted by these batteries, and the ships were able on the next assault to sweep the ground in front of the Russian works. On the 10th of July, General Simpson addressed the following despatch to the British War-office:—

“I have the honour to inclose the return of casualties to the 8th inst. Your lordship will regret to see that the lists of killed and wounded are heavy; but the nearer we approach the defences of the place the greater number of casualties must be expected. Brevet-major Harrison, 63rd regiment, was killed on the evening of the 7th inst., while proceeding to the trenches; he was a most excellent officer, and is a serious loss to her majesty's service. It will give your lordship sincere pleasure to mark the improvement in the general health of the troops. At 5 o'clock this morning a heavy fire was opened upon the Redan by the allied batteries.”

Immediately after this, on July 12th, General Barnard was appointed to the post of chief of the staff—a position from which General Simpson should never have been moved, for he was well adapted for it, although wholly unfitted intellectually and physically for the command in chief. General Simpson was neither a vain nor ambitious man—he did not desire so eminent a place in the British army; but he was a favourite of Lord Panmure, who was no great judge of the qualifications necessary for high command, and he was supported by Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief at home, who was generally ready to support the wishes, if not the views, of those high in

authority. General Simpson did his best zealously and conscientiously to sustain the responsibilities which were thrust upon him, and he received very efficient aid from General Barnard. The post vacated by General Estcourt was filled by the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Pakenham, a brave and gallant soldier, but somewhat aristocratical—the prevailing fault of men of personal rank in the British army.

On the 11th of July Omar Pasha, discontented with the wretched generalship which, on the part of the French and English commanders, Pelissier and Simpson, as well as Canrobert and Raglan, doomed him to uselessness and inactivity at Eupatoria, proposed to lead his Turkish army against the Russians in Asia, and relieve the sultan's armies there from the superior forces by which they were threatened. On the 15th the allied generals held a council before Sebastopol to take Omar Pasha's proposals into consideration. Both the commanders were ignorant of the condition of things in Asia Minor. Simpson was much influenced by Omar Pasha's arguments, and showed capacity to apprehend the modes of procedure of Asiatic armies and peoples; but while he appreciated the plans and proposals of the pasha, he did not possess vigour of mind sufficient to support Omar against the obstinacy of Pelissier, who seemed incapable of extending his mental vision beyond the confines of Sebastopol. With great difficulty the Turkish general persuaded the French commander that 25,000 Turks might, by marching in the direction of Tiflis, effect a favourable diversion for the Turkish army of Asia. Still, although obtaining a reluctant assent to his proposal under conditions that deprived it of much of its force, he could not put his plans into practice, so obstructive were the apathy of Simpson and the obstacles raised by Pelissier.

Had a part of the surplus force around Sebastopol been placed at the disposal of the Turkish general, he could have, at least, effected a diversion from Eupatoria, as a base of operations, of the utmost importance in the decision of the contest. The impression that an army could not advance from Eupatoria because of the deficient supply of water was erroneous.

On the 17th of July General Simpson wrote to the British War-office, supplying information concerning certain omissions in the despatches of his predecessor. Justice to deserving officers demands the insertion of the inclosures which the general's letter contained:—

“I have the honour to submit for your lordship's information the accompanying letters from Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, 90th regiment, the one referring to his personal services, and the other to those of a party of the 55th regiment, on the occasion of the capture of the

Quarries in front of the Redan on the night of the 7th ult. With regard to Lieutenant-colonel Campbell's own services, I think it right to inform your lordship that I find, upon inquiry, that the charge of holding the Quarries on the night in question, and of repelling the repeated attacks of the enemy, was confided to that officer after he had led the assault, and was, in fact, a separate and detached command from that of Colonel Shirley, who acted as general of the day in the trenches of the right attack; the despatch of the late Field-marshal Lord Raglan has already shown how admirably that duty was performed by the brave men who were under the immediate direction of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell. The lieutenant-colonel's letter, recording the good conduct of the party of the 55th regiment, speaks for itself."

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell's letter was written from the camp of the light division, and was to this effect:—

"The despatch of the late lamented Field-marshal Lord Raglan, of the 9th of June, mentions that I commanded the storming-party on the Quarries on the evening of the 7th of June. May I beg most respectfully that you will bring it to the notice of Lieutenant-general Simpson, commanding the forces, that I not only had the honour of commanding the storming-party, but that, having been twice wounded in the assault, I retained the sole and undivided command in the Quarries, not only of the original attacking force and supports, but of all reinforcements during the whole night, until relieved at 7 A.M. on the 8th? The despatches must have explained already that the enemy made several desperate efforts during the night to regain the works, and that on three occasions overpowering numbers succeeded in re-entering, but were, on all occasions, driven back at the point of the bayonet. The entire night was, indeed, one continued struggle for this position, the fatigue and anxiety of which I have never recovered from. When Lord Raglan's despatch was completed, I have reason to suppose his lordship had not received the details, as my own report to Colonel Shirley, general of the trenches, was unavoidably delayed in consequence of my wounds and not being able to write. In justice to myself, conscious of having performed an important duty to the best of my ability, and successfully, I now respectfully submit this statement to the commander of the forces, with the hope that he may be pleased to have my services on this occasion mentioned and particularised. At present several officers have equal praise in the despatch who were not in the Quarries at all."

Colonel Shirley, who commanded in the trenches on the night of the 7th of June, thus

addressed the military secretary. His letter was General Simpson's second inclosure:—

"I have the honour of forwarding the inclosed letter for the consideration of the lieutenant-general commanding the forces; but I beg to remark that in my report of the occurrences on the night of the 7th of June, I took care to mention the services of the 55th regiment, which appear to have been overlooked in the late field-marshal's despatch."

The third inclosure was a letter from Colonel Campbell to Colonel Shirley:—

"I beg to draw your attention to the inadvertent omission in Lord Raglan's despatch of the 9th of June of any mention of the 55th regiment as sharing in the attack and defence of the Quarries during the night of the 7th of June. I did not mention the regiment in my report, as they were not given over to me as part of the attacking-party; but the officer commanding the party informs me that they being originally told off as a working-party, were directed by the engineer (Captain Browne) to throw down their tools, and that they were moved by you as a support to Egerton's rifle-pit, whence they moved to support the attacking-party, and did good service in clearing the Russian trenches and in the defence throughout the night, as their severe list of killed and wounded attests (53 out of 160), many of the former not being found until the flag of truce, when their bodies were found in the trenches they had gained. The officer in command of the party (Captain, now Major Cure) reports that the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Stone, who was killed at the head of his men, charging the Russians in their trench with the bayonet, and of Captain Elton, who, with a small body of men, formed a covering-party on the right to those who were reversing the trench, is particularly deserving of mention, as is that also of Lieutenants Scott and Williams, who were most active in performing their duties. I hope that the commander of the forces may deem this statement sufficiently satisfactory to enable him to move in the subject."

On the 7th of July, General Simpson wrote to Lord Panmure as follows:—

"I have the honour to transmit herewith the nominal and numerical return of casualties in this army from the 13th to the 15th instant; also the weekly report of the inspector-general of hospitals, which will be most gratifying to your lordship, as showing a steady decrease in the number of cases of spasmodic cholera. I have but little to report to your lordship; our siege operations are steadily progressing. Last night, about 11 o'clock, a sortie was made by the enemy on the right of the French works,

in front of the Mamelon; the cannonade and fire of musketry were exceedingly heavy; but I have not as yet been made acquainted with any particulars of the attack. I regret to have to announce to your lordship the death of Captain Rowland A. Fraser, of the 12nd Highlanders, a very talented young officer, who was killed in the trenches of the right attack last night by the splinter of a shell."

The sortie against the French, noticed in the last despatch, was characterised by no unusual occurrence; the object of the enemy was to spike the guns in the French attack, indicated in the despatch, in which attempt they were unsuccessful. The following despatch, dated 21st of July, refers to operations from which much hope was entertained, but which dwindled into mere reconnaissances:—

"I have great pleasure to inform your lordship that the health of the army has greatly improved; cholera has greatly disappeared, and, although more sickness has appeared among the officers, it is not of that character to cause uneasiness. With reference to the exterior army, the Russians hold their strong position on the McKenzie Heights, extending by Aitodor to Albat, with advanced posts by Chouli, Ogenbash, and the strong range of heights overhanging Urkusta and the valley of Baidar. It is reported they have also a force of artillery and infantry at Aloupka. The French have pushed forward the whole of their cavalry into the valley of Baidar, resting upon the Sardinians, upon the left bank of the Souhai River, and communicating with the French upon the Tchernaya, while the high ridge protecting Balaklava is guarded by the Turkish army. I purpose sending four squadrons of light cavalry into the valley of Baidar to-morrow, to protect and afford convoys to the commissariat for the purpose of bringing in forage and supplies for the use of the army. Major-general Markham arrived on the 19th instant, and agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your lordship's telegraphic message, I have appointed him to the command of the second division. Sir Stephen Lushington, K.C.B., having been promoted to the rank of admiral, has been relieved in the command of the Naval Brigade by Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel. I take this opportunity of recording my sense of the ability and zeal with which he has throughout conducted his arduous and responsible situation of commanding the Naval Brigade, which has rendered such excellent service in our batteries. I beg also to report to your lordship that Mr. Commissary-general Filder has been obliged to relinquish the command of his important department, and will have to return to England upon the recom-

mendation of a medical board. I inclose the list of casualties to the 19th inst."

The arrival of General Markham, referred to in the above despatch, was considered by the army an auspicious event, as much was expected from the general's high military reputation. At the siege of Mooltan he displayed great skill at the head of a brigade, and perhaps few officers of the British army were better fitted for divisional command. He landed in the Crimea, exhausted with fatigue, having made desperate efforts to arrive from India with celerity, in consequence of official information that the country had much need of his services. As he was unable, from the state of his health, to render any very active service in the Crimea, but was obliged to return home in two months after his arrival, and died a month after his landing in England, we shall take occasion in this place to give a brief notice of his career. When he arrived at the theatre of war he had only entered on his fiftieth year. He was the second son of Admiral John Markham, son of Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York. He entered the army as ensign in the 32nd regiment, in May, 1824, and had seen considerable service in North America and the East Indies during his military career. He was with his regiment during the rebellion in Canada in 1837, and was wounded in four places at the action of St. Dennis, and was afterwards placed for a short time on the staff. General Markham then accompanied the 32nd regiment to the East Indies, as lieutenant-colonel, and served in the Punjaub campaign in 1848-49. He also commanded the second infantry brigade at the first and second siege operations before Mooltan, where he was wounded; also a division at the action of Soojkoond, when the enemy's position was carried, and seven guns taken, and the Bengal column at the storming and capture of the city of Mooltan in January, 1849. The gallant deceased was also present at the surrender of the fort and garrison of Cheulot, and commanded a brigade at the battle of Gujerat. Soon after he was appointed Adjutant-general, which appointment he held on the staff till he obtained his promotion as major-general. General Markham was then appointed to the command at Peshawur, but when within two days' journey to assume his command, he was recalled, in order to take the command of a division of the army in the Crimea. The gallant officer performed—such was his energy—the journey to Calcutta in the unexampled space of eighteen days, during the hot season; and it was from the excessive fatigue and anxiety of that journey that it is feared the seeds of his fatal illness arose. On his arrival in the Crimea he took the command of the second division, formerly commanded by General Pennefather,

and commanded that division at the attack on the Redan, just preceding the fall of Sebastopol, which he was just able to witness when his health became so precarious that he was ordered home. He was a Companion of the Order of the Bath, had received the appointment of aide-de-camp to her majesty, was in the receipt of a reward for distinguished services, and had a medal for the Punjaub.

Among the deaths which the months of June and July had already added to the long line of fatality from cholera and other epidemic and endemic diseases, was that of Colonel Vico, French commissioner in the British army. He died of cholera, greatly regretted by both armies. His death was followed by that of another gentleman whose loss was deplored—Mr. Calvert or Cuttley (he usually went by the former, the latter being his real name). He was an excellent Russian scholar, and employed as interpreter and confidential agent to the commander-in-chief.

Under date of July 12th, Mr. Russell makes the following remarks:—"The French and Turks have finally returned from their reconnaissance, and the country about Baidar is again in the hands of the Cossacks. The quantity of cattle driven in by them is very great. The beasts, though not of the large size we are accustomed to in England, are finer and better fed than those obtained in Asia Minor—at least, as they reach us after a voyage across the Black Sea. According to the observations of the scientific officers who accompanied this reconnaissance, there is no weak point towards the Belbek; and now an attack on the Russian position, from Inkerman to Simpheropol, is considered all but hopeless. Nature seems as if she had constructed the plateau they occupy as a vast defensible position, which 50,000 men may hold against four times their number."

When, at a later period, Southern Sebastopol fell, the allied generals acted upon the impression conveyed in this extract from Mr. Russell's journal, who received the opinion from the French officers of Engineers. The enterprise was very little indebted to that branch of the army of our great ally, notwithstanding the long-sustained high reputation of the French military engineers; and there is no doubt that the reports they made of the character of the surrounding country deterred the allied chiefs from acting upon "the army without," both before and after the taking of Southern Sebastopol, on the ground of the inaccessibility of the country, and the want of water supply, which was erroneously made the ground of inactivity at Eupatoria, as before shown. We have the opinion of an eminent engineer in the Russian service, who is well acquainted with the whole country around Sebastopol and Eupatoria, and

with the Crimea generally, as to the feasibility of operating against the Russian army in the field both before and after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, and he represents the French engineer staff as acting upon an erroneous judgment in reference to the topography of the theatre of action, and the positions held by the enemy. By Baidar an advance was certainly impossible; but the allies were not shut up to that line of operation. This subject we shall discuss thoroughly when the conduct of the allied generals in September and October comes under review.

By the 15th of July the French had so energetically pushed forward their works, that they approached the abattis of the Malakoff. It was discovered that this abattis would prove a formidable obstruction in an assault, being formed of trunks of trees, six feet high. The Russians laboured night and day to render it a still more formidable impediment to our allies. On the night of the 15th, and far into the morning of the 16th, the cannonade was dreadful—both the siege and the defence seemed to throw their entire energy into the contest. The result was considerable loss of life on both sides.

Bitter complaints arose in the English camp hospitals in consequence of the want of mattresses for the wounded, although immense stores of these articles remained useless at the Bosphorus. The people of England about this time were resting under the delusion that the reign of official neglect and incompetency was over. This partly arose from the confidence felt in Lord Palmerston, but his lordship could not be everywhere, and the War-office was only so far improved as his will and the public indignation improved it, although none can deny that Lord Panmure personally desired to do right.

On the 19th the Russians, by more than their usual skill and daring, established rifle-pits in front of the French sap approaching the Malakoff. On the same day the French, observing that the Russians displayed unusual activity on their left, opened a tremendous fire, which appeared to silence every sound, and check every movement in the enemy's works.

Omar Pasha, finding his efforts to obtain the support and co-operation of the allies hopeless, went to Constantinople to engage the Porte in his views. He there found himself beset by the usual intrigues. Many Italian officers volunteered their services—men of skill and courage; but the Austrian embassy opposed their employment, as it did the engagement of Poles and Hungarians in the sultan's service earlier in the war.

On the 21st of July General Simpson published the following order:—

"General Simpson announces to the army that he has had the honour to receive from Her Majesty the Queen the appointment of commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea.

"The lieutenant-general, though deeply impressed with the responsibility of the position in which he is placed, is most proud of the high and distinguished honour, and of the confidence thus reposed in him by his sovereign.

"It will be the lieutenant-general's duty to endeavour to follow in the steps of his great predecessor, and he feels confident of the support of the generals, and of the officers and soldiers, in maintaining unimpaired the honour and discipline of this noble army."

On this day (as already mentioned in a despatch of the 21st) Captain Lushington, being promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, gave up his command of the Naval Brigade, and was succeeded by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel. Commissary-general Filder was invalided, and succeeded by Sir George Maclean.

Within Sebastopol incidents occurred which were intended to appeal to the fanaticism of its defenders. The following account was sent to the *Invalide Russe* by an officer of the Russian army in the field:—"A great religious solemnity was celebrated yesterday at Sebastopol; with great pomp the town was blessed. The Archbishop of Tauris, Monsignor Innocent, came on purpose for this occasion. Of the many churches of Sebastopol, the Cathedral (so-called) of the Navy was alone in sufficiently good condition for the celebration of service. After high mass, and a funeral service for the brave defenders of the city who fell during the war, the clergy, followed by the congregation, proceeded to the open square, where the blessing was given, which was followed by a *Te Deum*. The archbishop then addressed the multitude in a speech, which elicited the tears of his audience. The number of persons present was not considerable, as nearly the whole of the south part of Sebastopol is still uninhabited. Among those present were Rear-admiral Joukharine, military governor of the town and port; Vice-admiral Panfiloff, recently arrived from Nicolskief; a few officers, soldiers, and citizens. The prayers were fervent and earnest, as nearly every one present had some relations to mourn for. A ray of hope, however, of a better future illuminated the countenance of each; and a certain enthusiasm was excited when the pious archbishop, turning towards the ruins of Sebastopol, and the spot where so many heroes lie buried, in a voice trembling with emotion, eulogised the self-denial and the patriotism which they displayed during the struggle, and maintained in the midst of the most terrible suffering."

The arrival of the Duke of Newcastle in the

Crimea excited in the allied armies considerable attention. The discussions at home with which his grace's management at the War-office was connected created curiosity as to the nature of his visit, in which even our allies participated.

Cases of desertion from the enemy became common towards the end of July, and the deserters reported that the garrison was powerfully reinforced, and that an attack upon the extreme right of the allies encamped on the Tchernaya was in contemplation.

The month of July closed in the British lines without any other events of an important nature, and on the 31st General Simpson directed to Lord Panmure the last despatch of the month.

"I beg to inclose the list of casualties to the 29th inst., which I regret to say are very heavy. The proximity of our works to those of the enemy, together with the lightness of the nights and rocky nature of the ground, making it impossible to obtain rapid cover, materially contributes to such a result; notwithstanding which disadvantages our engineers continue steadily, though slowly, to advance in the direction of the Great Redan. An agreeable change has taken place the last few days in the temperature of the weather; heavy showers of rain have occasionally fallen. Several reconnaissances have been made from the valley of Baidar towards Ozenbash, Aitodor, and through the Phoros Pass towards Aloupka, the enemy nowhere appearing in any force; but the narrowness of the mountain roads, with the exception of the Woronzoff, makes it unnecessary for them to alter their concentrated position on the heights of M'Kenzie and plateau of the Belbek."

On the part of our French ally, the month was signalled by the recall of General Canrobert. The first division of infantry was that of which the general took command when he surrendered the supreme control of the army to Pelissier. This division occupied a position on the Tchernaya, but on the 4th of July it was moved up to the plateau, and took part in the siege, relieving from trench-work another division. The Baron Bazancourt says, "General Canrobert was thus called upon as a general of division to concur in an attack which he had been unwilling to execute as general-in-chief!" "The soldiers welcomed him with shouts, and appeared to be unaware that he was no longer the commander-in-chief of the army of the East who passed before them." The general's former position made it very difficult for the officers in command to give him orders in the way they would to any other general of division, and this circumstance led to his recall on the 26th of July. On the 4th of August he left the Crimea, the

French army and navy paying him the same respect, and firing the same salutes, as to a commander-in-chief.

August opened somewhat auspiciously for the health of all the allied armies. The fierce storms which raged around Sebastopol at the close of July seemed to have some influence upon the laws which governed the prevailing epidemics, and the medical returns were encouraging. The events of this month were also destined to be important. The preparations of the allies for the final assault were to be completed during its fine autumnal days and nights; a grand battle was to be fought in the field, and fresh losses were to be incurred by death or sickness amongst the gallant officers who held a leading place in the British army. Amongst these the most conspicuous was Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England,

an officer who had the rare faculty of alike gaining the esteem and confidence of those by whom he was commanded and those who acted under his orders; Lord Raglan and General Simpson relied much upon his counsel, and the gallant men of his division were much attached to his person. His care for the health of his soldiers was such that no division lost so little from sickness; and the most heroic achievement of the war, after the battle of Inkerman, was accomplished by the second brigade of his division, on the memorable and inauspicious day of the 18th of June. An extended notice of the services of Sir Richard England, and other officers, must be reserved for a future chapter, as well as the inspiring events which, in August and September, brought the siege of Sebastopol to a fortunate issue.

CHAPTER XCII.

HOME EVENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1855.—DISCUSSIONS ON PRINCE ALBERT'S POLITICAL OPINIONS.—MALEVOLENT CONDUCT OF THE GREEKS ON THE DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES.—ARRIVAL OF LORD RAGLAN'S REMAINS IN ENGLAND.—VISIT OF THE KING OF THE BELGIANS TO ENGLAND.—POLICY OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO PARIS.

"Our freedom of discussion and our free press are worth all we ever were, all we are, and all we ever shall be as a nation."—*Times*.

IN the last chapter on home events it was necessary, for unity of subject, partly to anticipate what should be again more fully treated. Some topics, therefore, will recur in this chapter which have been previously noticed. Reference was made on a former page to a speech delivered by Prince Albert at the annual dinner of the Trinity Corporation, in which that illustrious person delivered his opinion on the political duties of the English people, in a manner so bold and open as greatly to astonish all who admired the prince for his reserve and prudence on political topics. The speech, it was expected, would only produce a momentary excitement and be forgotten. It was, however, otherwise, and the indiscretion gave just and general ground of offence. The speech, in fact, was one of the most potent causes of public dissatisfaction with the government, and distrust in the policy with which, even under a more trusted premier, the war would be conducted. The whole tone of the speech was most unhappy, and, taking all that had recently occurred into account, most inopportune. The English people did not concur either in the political doctrines laid down by his royal highness, nor the practical advice offered. They had no reason to suppose that he was particularly qualified to propound constitutional tenets. They did not know any passage of his previous history which pointed him out as peculiarly fitted to lecture in such

a tone a people whose experience in constitutionalism was very considerable before he landed on their shores. Saxe-Cobourg, or Saxe-Gotha, or any other petty German principality, affords no high school for the study of the British Constitution. Had his royal highness delivered an oration in the spirit and manner of the premier, when acknowledging the toast which afforded the prince an occasion for his remarks, the speech and the speaker would have made themselves more acceptable to Englishmen. There were many other topics suggested by the place where his royal highness stood, far more appropriate, even when proposing the health of her majesty's ministers, than that of the necessity of secret diplomacy, and unquestioning and unlimited confidence in such advisers as her majesty may think fit to choose. His royal highness set out by informing us that "It is not the way to success in war to support it, however ardently and enthusiastically, and at the same time to tie down and weaken the hands of those who have to conduct it." What had the British people done to deserve this inferential censure? Wherein had they tied down or weakened the hands of those who had to conduct the war? Had they not indignantly protested rather that the hands of the conductors of the war were "tied down" somewhere else, and "weakened" by other agencies and influences? Had not the British people rather said, in the

words of Mr. D'Israeli, "You can have money in any amount; you can have fleets such as never before floated upon the seas; you can have men in any number; but do not betray the country by a weak and vacillating policy, and a weaker execution of it." These words were addressed to the administration of Lord Aberdeen, and who will say that they were not required? What had been the conduct of that government after that speech? Were they not driven out of office for their incompetency and faithlessness by the all but unanimous voice of the senate? Had not these men avowed their intention of making peace on terms that the British nation was ashamed of? Was ever a war conducted so foolishly by any ministry? Were ever mighty resources so weakly used? Were ever the crafty designs of a cunning and unprincipled foe so inadequately provided against? Yet they were the men of Prince Albert's choice—it might, in a manner, be called his own administration! Every one knew how reluctant he was to see them displaced, and more especially by the very man at the head of affairs whose reputed vigour made him the favourite of the nation. Lord Palmerston, in his reply at the Trinity Corporation dinner, seemed to feel this; for he did not burden his speech with any acknowledgments of the royal speaker's recommendations, but delivered it in accordance with the popular feeling and the popular will. It was of small consequence to his lordship whether he was labelled with the royal mark, while he carried out boldly and temperately the public purpose—to have war no longer than till peace could be honourably secured; but until then never to flinch, and in the meantime to encumber himself as little with secret diplomacy as possible, while the business of nations continued to be conducted as it had been. If his royal highness meant, as it was supposed he did mean, that the English people should intrust everything to "her majesty's servants," and put in them implicit confidence, it was well he dismissed the delusion so soon, as to the likelihood of his advice being taken. We trust that the day will never come when, as British ministries are generally constituted, such undue confidence should be placed in them. Had Aberdeen, Newcastle, Graham, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert received the confidence of the people as completely as they did that of the court, the cause of the allies would have been ruined; the whole English army have whitened with their bones the bleak hills around Sebastopol; and a peace not only inglorious but absurd, would have consigned the English name to infamy for many generations. The people were unwilling to place unlimited confidence either in courts or cabinets. His royal highness declared that our constitutional govern-

ment was undergoing a heavy trial, "and the way to bring it through was to give a self-denying confidence to her majesty's government." The people were sorry to hear repeated in so high a quarter the cant of the despotic politicians of the Continent, as to the comparative disadvantage of constitutional government in a war with a country despotically ruled. If it were true that the comparison was against England, she would cling to her liberties nevertheless; but its truth was denied.

In proportion as the people are free will be the military strength of a nation. So it has always been from the days of the mightiest achievements of Greece to the last and expiring effort of noble and dauntless Hungary. It was because we had too much secrecy in our diplomacy, and because certain political coteries managed the conduct of our wars, that there was so little confidence in the agents they employed, or the officers they appointed. In this war, whatever we obtained of credit or advantage was by openness and publicity, and whatever we lost was forfeited by secret diplomacy and a too generous confidence in the queen's advisers on the part of the people. His royal highness spoke of the "impenetrable secrecy and unity of purpose" in a despotic government, as favourably contrasting with the publicity and discussion of a constitutional government where war is concerned. But there is no reason why there should not be unity in a free government. If the whole people know what is doing, they will so unequivocally express themselves as to give a unity and force which despotism itself cannot command—for despotic states always, from the secrecy of governmental operations, have dangerous divisions and intrigues; more than one Russian emperor has lost his life from this cause. His royal highness said that the mistakes of the officials were sometimes "exaggerated with morbid satisfaction." Any fact may be sometimes exaggerated, but the implication of this sentence was unjust to the English character and nation. It was not until scenes which one of her majesty's principal ministers called "horrible and heart-rending" were brought to light, in spite of the government, by the independent press, that the people showed any disposition to find fault. When insulted and betrayed,—when their fathers, sons, and brothers were starved by official mismanagement,—when the national truth, honour, and dignity were imperilled by the political coquetry and subserviency of the pro-Russian government,—then, and then only, the long-suffering people withdrew their confidence.

The tidings of the discomfiture of the assault on the 18th of June caused deep grief in England. Many had to mourn the loss of their loved and brave; but the sense of defeat

sunk deep into the heart of the whole nation. Our soldiers were not blamed, for the success of a portion of General England's division showed what our troops could accomplish when well directed, and any scope for their discipline and courage was afforded; but there was a deep sense of humiliation as to the whole conduct of the war and the management of the campaign. One portion only of the inhabitants of England, natives or foreigners, heard the tidings of the 18th of June without regret, and they heard it with undisguised satisfaction—the Greek traders. The Greeks in every country then at war with Russia manifested the same spirit: in Paris, Turin, Constantinople, the same malevolent triumph in the victory of Russia was displayed, as was shown at Vienna or Berlin, or wherever the Greek race, in their extended commercial relations, had any interest. The anger excited in Great Britain towards that race was very great. That the defeat of the allies at the Redan and Malakoff, on the 18th of June, should cause rejoicings at St. Petersburg was natural—Englishmen were not surprised when they heard of it, however they might regret the cause of such rejoicings; but that the Greeks of Constantinople, the lawful subjects of the Porte—receiving not only an increasing toleration, but enjoying a social and commercial freedom unknown in Russia—should openly manifest their joy at the slaughter of the allies and the triumph of the Russian despot, did excite a righteous indignation. The rabble were loud in their exhibitions of delight, and the countenances of the Greek traders beamed with triumphant satisfaction whenever they met an Englishman or a Frenchman, as much as to say that the allies had met their match, that the turning-point for the beloved Russia was come, and that the heretics and schismatics would soon be driven from the orthodox realms, polluted by their presence. The bearing of the Greek “papas” displayed mingled pride, exultation, and ferocity. It was from the cup of intoxication which they administered that the whole Greek people were made drunk with bigotry. The Greeks in London and Paris, Manchester and Marseilles, Liverpool and Lyons, were quite as exultant over the sorrows of the free nations that gave them hospitality and freedom to trade. These intolerant men would forego every blessing of liberty which they possessed anywhere for the tyranny of St. Petersburg or Moscow, for the sake of the pomp and power of their religion there. And yet the Russo-Greek Church was not considered orthodox by the true Greek. The former acknowledged for its head the emperor, while the latter regarded the patriarch of Constantinople as the centre of unity. The crafty and ruthless tyrant, Peter the Great, destroyed the

dignity and independence of the Greek Church in Russia, and deposed the Metropolitan of Moscow, placing himself in the vacant patriarchal and archiepiscopal chair; yet the vast body of that corrupt church cringed before the usurper's crozier as well as his sceptre, and, for the sake of his patronage, sanctioned his usurpation of ecclesiastical prerogative. It is true that a portion of the Russian people refused to recognise the assumption of religious power by the civil chief, and had been, therefore, a persecuted segment in the circle of the Greek Church in Russia. With these the Greeks of Greece and of Constantinople professed to agree. Yet these men rejoiced in the chance-victory gained by the enslaver and persecutor of their brethren! The secret of this was that the Greeks desired to see any nation, whatever its form of government, whatever its barbarism and brutality, whatever its oppression and injustice, victorious, even over the free and good, if only it were of the Greek rite, of any form under which that rite might be observed. It was to Russia that all sections of the Greek community, and all people professing the Greek religion, looked for the exaltation and glory of their church. They did not expect it by missionary zeal and self-sacrifice—they had no missions or missionaries corresponding in zeal and self-denial to those of the Latin Church; their hope was not in the progress of civilisation among the nations wholly or partly professing their faith, and the influence of those nations upon the rest of mankind; they did not look forward to such a moral revolution in Constantinople as would give to Christianity a pure and holy triumph.

“The good time coming”

was, in their estimation, the extirpation of Mohammedanism by the sword; the expulsion of the Latin Church from the East; the subjugation and forcible proselytism of the Christians of the oriental churches, such as Nestorians, Armenians, and Copts; the preclusion of Protestantism, British, Prussian, or American; and the establishment of a vast ecclesio-Greek empire at Constantinople, to become in time the mistress and dietatress of the universe. The Greeks at Constantinople understood very well that Russia was opposed to a Greek empire, and to the establishment of any power at Constantinople, that would hold it against Russia. They knew well that the promises of Russian agents to King Otho, of an enlarged Greek kingdom, comprehending Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Albania, were merely diplomatic tricks. If they did not know so much before, the disclosures when the emperor informed Sir G. H. Seymour that he would never allow any power to hold Constantinople, and never allow an independent Greek kingdom or empire there,

must have satisfied them that the aim of the czar was their enslavement as an essential element in his scheme for the dominancy of the East. With the clearest knowledge of all this, they rejoiced in the overthrow of the allies under an unexpected and temporary defeat, and congratulated one another upon the hope that Russia might hold the Crimea and continue to dominate the Black Sea. The solution of this mystery, as it must appear to any one not conversant with the spirit of the Greeks, was to be found in the aggrandising zeal for their own form of worship, before which international justice, human rights, and their own liberties were insignificant considerations. It may strike persons acquainted somewhat with the hatred of Russia prevalent in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the disaffection smouldering in the recently acquired Russian province of Bessarabia, that, inasmuch as these populations are Greek, our philosophy of the pro-Russian feeling at Constantinople can hardly be correct. We reply that these provinces, having felt the grinding despotism of Russia, having seen their fields wasted by the Russian commissaries, their property despoiled by Russian officials, their homes violated by Russian soldiery in ways too horrible to relate,—they learned that the czar's zeal for the orthodox church was compatible with the plunder and oppression of its humble members, and with the total subversion of all legal privilege and social security—they experienced his *régime*, and they hated it. So would the Greeks of Roumelia, if they only felt it for a few campaigns, or lived under the shadow of the despot's throne for a few years. That the Greeks should hate the Turks, who subverted the Byzantine empire, and treated them as a conquered people, but too well comforted with human nature, and was not a causeless hatred, but that this feeling should be fostered in the face of the Tanzimat and the last Hatti Scheriff, was a still further proof of the bigotry of the race. The sultan and his government ought to have had their support in carrying out the useful reforms he contemplated, and had already originated, instead of thanklessness and rancour. The ingratitude displayed by these ebullitions, at Constantinople, towards the Western powers was of the basest type. France and England had secured concessions to the Greeks of the most important kind. England had initiated these reforms. Lord Stratford and the Earl of Clarendon had written to the Porte, in terms much to their own honour and the honour of their country, on behalf of the Greeks,—and not in vain. The British government had literally demanded for them equal rights in everything with the dominant race, and yet, in the very hour of these services, we were requited by exulting insult upon the repulse of our troops. Truly the Greeks are an incorri-

gible people; gratitude, of all other virtues, seems with them most difficult, even more so than truth. We need not, therefore, be surprised to read the inflammatory placards which were posted in Epirus and Albania, on the breaking out of the Greek insurrection—"Arise, Greeks, aid your northern brethren, and our beloved lord and master the czar!" These people cannot be free. Strip their arms of a chain, they would present it to other hands to rivet again, if only he who binds can pronounce the shibboleth of their bigotry, or deck that chain with flowers. To be free, men must be spirit free. To appreciate liberty, religious liberty must be understood. To contend consistently for social justice, freedom, our own freedom and the freedom of all others, equally, to worship God, must be acknowledged, and deemed worthy of the loss of all things, but the loss of Him whose gift they are, and who consecrates our devotion to their cause. The Greeks loved slavery, and spoke of freedom. England should spend no treasure, and strike no blow for a people who hugged their chains.

Among the incidents in the Crimea which caused painful sensations at home, was the death of Mr. Stowe, who was a correspondent of the *Times*, and an agent of the "Times' Fund." When Mr. Macdonald was compelled to return to England, his health having failed, Mr. Stowe was sent out by the conductors of that paper, with a further sum of £15,000, to administer relief in the hospitals. As matters mended on the Bosphorus, that gentleman proceeded to the Crimea, and while Mr. Russell was absent with the Kertch expedition, Mr. Stowe wrote the correspondence from before Sebastopol. The eloquent descriptions of the storming of the Mamelon and the Quarries on the 8th of June, which the *Times* newspaper contained, were written by Mr. Stowe. While in the Crimea, this gentleman dispensed the large fund at his disposal with prudence, and many a poor soldier had reason to bless God for his presence among the camp hospitals. His servant some time after deserted him while he was labouring under illness, and he applied for admission to the military hospitals which he himself had supplied with many of the comforts, and even necessities, which they possessed. He was told that an order had been given not to admit civilians, as the more active operations of the siege would cause many casualties, and the space would be required. The answer to this was, that, with care and attention, the hospital accommodation might be indefinitely extended, and, at all events, the man to whose skill and forethought these hospitals were indebted for much of their efficiency, was not the first person to be refused, nor a suitable person to be refused under any circumstances. Dr. Hall was peremptory,

and no accommodation was allowed in the hospital to its benefactor. Application was then made to the marine hospital on the heights, where no inconvenience could by any possibility be experienced by his admission; and as the marines were less engaged in the conflict than any other branch of the service, it was not likely that their hospital would be full. Dr. Hall insisted that the orders should be carried out there also. This need cause no surprise with our readers who recollect that the medical men who admitted Mr. Woods of the *Morning Herald*, and saved his life, were censured severely for their humanity. The heads of the medical and military staff of the army hated the press with relentless rancour, and those who served it. Even the administrators of the relief-fund, such as Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Stowe, were denounced as "dangerous men," for no other reason than that they exposed idleness, corruption and inhumanity, and called public attention in England to the sufferings and neglected condition of her poor brave soldiers. The authorities persisting in their refusal of all succour and shelter to Mr. Stowe, that gentleman was carried down to the church at Balaklava, a most unsuitable place, where he lingered a few days, and died the victim of official inhumanity, and of the hatred to a free press and a free public opinion so prevalent amongst the chiefs, medical and military, in the British army. The indignation excited by this transaction in England was great; but no proper effort was put forward in parliament, or out of it, to redress the injury, or mark the public abhorrence of the men and measures causing so disgraceful a catastrophe. Mr. Stowe was an accomplished scholar, a first-class man of Oxford, and a Fellow of Oriel College. He was humane and gentle, yet of a decided temperament, and was dreaded by the selfish hospital and military staff as much as he was beloved by soldiers, navvies, and the hard-working medical men who, like himself, sympathised with the soldiers, and were jealous for the country's honour. The conductors of the *Times* newspaper would not send out another agent; and thus the murder of Mr. Stowe—for, morally, it was a murder—was the means of checking the liberal efforts of the English public, and the talented administrative efforts of the *Times*' conductors and agents in its service. The following paragraph appeared in that paper; the rebuke it conveys to the authorities is severe; but still more severe towards a nation which allowed its purposes to be overruled by men with hearts so hard, and minds so little endowed with any quality requisite for great public emergency:—"When so many men have fallen, it is vain to lavish more regrets on a solitary example. The event

has led to a determination in which we hope to have the concurrence of our supporters. We shall not send out another friend, another valuable life, to a service in which, among other dangers, British inhumanity is to be encountered. Whoever goes out to administer our fund, must expect that, in the event of his sickening in the crowd, he will be excluded from the hospitals where he is sent to minister, and deprived of the medical aid which he has, perhaps, assisted with the most needful supplies. Helpless and agonised with disease, Mr. Stowe was refused admission into hospitals in which many hundreds of patients have abundantly received and thankfully acknowledged the assistance of the *Times*' fund."

One might suppose that such an appeal to the justice and manhood of Englishmen, made through an organ of public opinion so extensively circulated as the *Times*, would rouse them to demand retribution upon the heads of the perpetrators of this infamy; but it did not. The difficulty of correcting any abuse in any department, while the aristocratic element of government is interested in preserving it, is such that the people can only correct evils and redress wrongs by a most costly system of agitation, which is uncongenial to the orderly and peaceful habits of the great mass of English citizens.

The month of July opened in France with an event which produced much excitement in England, and in Europe generally. On the 2nd the emperor opened the Legislative Assembly, with a speech which literally thrilled the heart of the nations. Austria had not given satisfaction to the Western allies. Her course had been time-serving and truculent; and there was much discontent in France, and much more in England, with the lenient and accommodating spirit manifested by the governments of the French emperor and the Queen of England to the government of the Kaiser. The speech of the emperor was taken as an indication that a temporising policy to Austria would not any longer characterise the allies; but that she would be forced to declare herself for active war on one side or the other. Whether this speech really influenced Austria in taking up a more decided tone towards Russia, as she afterwards did, or that the French emperor—still well inclined to Austria, whatever her policy, so as she did not oppose him—only used this strong language to satisfy the people of Western Europe that their governments were resolved not to be trifled with, it was difficult to determine; but it certainly had the effect of making the French and English nations believe that the conduct of the war was in firm hands. The following extracts will suffice to show its purport and spirit:—

“Messieurs les Sénateurs, Messieurs les Députés,—The diplomatic negotiations commenced during the course of our last session already made you foresee that I should be obliged to call you together when they came to a termination. Unhappily, the conferences of Vienna failed in procuring peace, and I come again to appeal to the patriotism of the country and to your own. Were we wanting in moderation in settling the conditions? I do not fear to examine the question before you. One year already had passed since the commencement of the war, and already France and England had saved Turkey, gained two battles, forced Russia to evacuate the principalities, and to exhaust her forces in the defence of the Crimea. We had, moreover, in our favour the adhesion of Austria and the moral approbation of the rest of Europe. In that situation the cabinet of Vienna asked us if we would consent to treat upon bases vaguely formulated. Before our successes a refusal on our part seemed natural. Was it not to be supposed, forsooth, that the demands of France and England would increase in proportion to the greatness of the struggle and of the sacrifices already made?

“Well, France and England did not turn their advantages to account, or even make the most of the rights given to them by previous treaties, so much had they at heart to facilitate peace, and to give an unchallengeable proof of their moderation. We restricted ourselves to ask, in the interests of Germany, the free navigation of the Danube, and a breakwater against the Russian flood which continually obstructed the mouths of that great river. We demanded, in the interests of Austria and of Germany, a better constitution for the Danubian principalities, that they might serve as a barrier against these repeated invasions of the north. We demanded, in the interests of humanity and of justice, the same guarantees for the Christians of every confession under the exclusive protection of the sultan. In the interests of the Porte, as well as in those of Europe, we demanded that Russia should limit, to a reasonable degree, sufficient to shield her against any attack, the number of her ships in the Black Sea, a number which she could only maintain with an aggressive object. Well, all these propositions, which I may call magnanimous from their disinterestedness, and which were approved in principle by Austria, by Prussia, and by Russia herself, have evaporated in the conferences. Russia, who had consented, in theory, to put an end to her preponderance in the Black Sea, has refused every limitation of her naval forces; and we have still to wait for Austria to fulfil her engagements, which consisted in rendering our alliance offensive and defensive if the negocia-

tions failed. Austria, it is true, proposed to us to guarantee with her by treaty the independence of Turkey, and to consider for the future as a *casus belli* an increase of the number of Russian ships of war exceeding that before the commencement of hostilities. To accept such a proposition was impossible, for it in no manner bound Russia; and, on the contrary, we should apparently have sanctioned her preponderance in the Black Sea by treaty.”

The speech concluded with these words:—

“A nation must either abdicate every political character, or, if it possesses the instinct and the will to act conformably to its generous nature, to its historical traditions, to its providential mission, it must learn how to support at times the trials which alone can retemper it, and restore it to the rank which is its due. Faith in the Almighty, perseverance in our efforts, and we shall obtain a peace worthy of the alliance of two great nations.”

On the 3rd of July the queen sent a message to parliament, conveying her desire that pensions should be voted for Lord Raglan's family, as a mark of her royal approbation. Accordingly £1000 a year was granted to Lady Raglan for life, and £2000 a year to his eldest son, and to his next successor to the title. This excited much criticism in the London and provincial press; it was felt generally through the country that Lord Raglan had been well requited for his public services—elevated to a peerage, the highest honour the queen could bestow—promoted in the army to the rank of field-marshal, over the heads of brave old Lord Gough, and many others, who had seen more service, and sustained higher command than that which he had borne previous to the Eastern campaign; and all his life situations of honour and emolument had awaited him. These might have sufficed, without saddling the country with burdens for two generations, to keep up the dignity of the title. Against the annuity to his widow no voice was raised.

On the 24th of July the *Caradoc* arrived in an English port with the remains of the deceased chief, which were disembarked at Bristol early on the morning of the 25th. Much respect was shown by the inhabitants of Bristol; the ships bore their colours half-mast high; the shops were shut; the bells of the various churches tolled, and the boom of minute-guns added to the solemnity. Many of the citizens wore mourning, and black cloth was hung from windows and balconies; funeral symbols of various kinds, some of them tasteful and expressive, adorned several of the public edifices.

The procession was solemn and imposing. Before the hearse the coronet of the deceased was carried by his own body-servant, mounted. Immediately after the hearse an escort of the

Royal Horse Guards (blue), took their place. Then the mourning-coaches, in which were the family and the field-marshal's personal staff. Various military bodies followed; a squadron of the 15th Hussars; a battery of field-artillery; the enrolled pensioners of the district; the Land Transport Corps, which was then in training at Bristol; officers with Crimean and Peninsular medals; and a body of veterans who had fought in the Peninsula, and were decorated for their honourable service there. After the military procession, the mayor and corporation proceeded in twenty-four carriages; then the Society of Merchant Volunteers; these were followed by the corporation of the poor; and these by the clergy of Bristol. Various voluntary societies of the citizens, walking six abreast, closed the procession, which extended over two miles. The long line was conducted to the "Fish-ponds," where the hearse and mourning-coaches left it, and proceeded to Bodminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, nephew to the deceased. The body was placed in the great hall of Bodminton House, where it lay in state during the 26th. Large numbers of the gentry and the people of the neighbourhood were allowed to show their respect by passing through the hall. In the evening the burial took place, and the body was deposited in the family vault of the parish church. A wreath of laurel and an *immortelle*, placed by General Pelissier upon the coffin before it left the Crimea, remained upon it when left in the vault.

Thus terminated the obsequies of a man whose name fills no small place in the history of our country, but who, with the most honest and gallant desires to promote her glory, and with a long career of efficient service in his sphere, contributed little to her greatness.

When discussing the consequences of the Vienna conference, we deemed it best for their consecutive relation to anticipate dates to some extent. How Lord John Russell was ultimately obliged to resign his place in the cabinet, and the parliamentary movements by which that was brought about, were then recorded. When his lordship disclosed the fact that he and the French minister of Foreign Affairs had agreed with the Austrian project (already related and discussed), the surprise and indignation of the people were very great. After the excitement had somewhat subsided, suspicions began to be entertained and rumours spread that his lordship had made his disclosures in the way he did, and at that particular time, for sinister ends. The King of the Belgians (the queen's uncle), had arrived on a visit to her majesty in a very unostentatious manner, no public parade having been in any way associated with it. As his majesty's visits were generally supposed to have

some political bearing, Lord John's "explanations," just then, were supposed by many to have been under his majesty's auspices and advice. It is an adage that "a straw may show how the wind blows," and this is nowhere more true than in politics. Just as little things show character, so events considered in themselves not of importance, betray in the political world the bearings of party, and foreshow the probable progress of affairs. The visit of the King of the Belgians was merely a courtesy, or a family act, but the quidnuncs saw much more in it. There were those who thought that it foreshadowed political change; rumour repeated that the *entente cordiale* between the court and the premier was not so strong as Prince Albert's speech at the dinner of the Trinity Corporation would make appear. Lord John Russell's disclosures in the senate were remarkably opportune to the late disasters in the Crimea; for whether these would be effaced by coming victories, or should only prove the beginning of sorrows, his lordship made sure, as he believed, that his course was politic. There was probability in the rumour that Lord John had timed his speech otherwise opportunely. The King of the Belgians was pro-Russian to the core; married to a daughter of the late unprincipled political gamester, Louis Philippe, he was heart and soul with the Emperor Nicholas in his attempt to fuse the two branches of the Bourbons in January, 1854. He was also connected with the house of Hapsburgh by old and recent family ties, and was a supporter of the late proposal of the Austrian minister at Vienna, by which Lord John Russell was entrapped. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was always pro-Austrian, and it is unnecessary to suppose him entrapped; the hinge of his policy was the Austrian alliance. It was reported, when this royal visit was made, that Lord John had the patronage of his Belgian majesty and of the court, and was still aiming at the premiership. That there were changes likely to take place in the cabinet, consequent upon Lord John's Austrian disclosures, was a subject mooted upon 'Change, and seriously affected the funds on more than one day afterwards. If the ministry had been broken up by the false position in which Lord John had placed it, the premier would have advised her majesty to send for Lord Derby, who, failing to form a cabinet, dare not attempt again a coalition with the Peelites. If Lord Derby failed to form a ministry, her majesty would, as usual, have sought the advice of Lord Lansdowne, who would of course have referred her to Lord John Russell. That this was the game playing by the wily little lord, there was no doubt; but what his prospects were of forming a ministry under such circumstances, and by what hope he was inspired to speculate upon it, the public could not discover. The

people were tired of the ministerial changes; a cabinet crisis could not occur every day in any country, and, least of all, could such changes occur in a time of war without a vigorous effort to correct their causes. The peace party would have supported Lord Derby to some extent; they had already intimated their preference for his premiership to that of Lord Palmerston. The Peelites would have voted for him if he gave up his anti-free-trade policy, if it were only in retribution upon the Russell party, so that Lord Derby had a better chance of forming a stable ministry than he had for some time possessed.

It was natural to speculate, in case of such an occurrence, as to how his lordship would conduct the war. There had been no speeches on the subject of its vigorous prosecution more distinct than his; no denunciations of the treacherous and incapable Aberdeen ministry more eloquent in invective, and more cogent in reasoning, than Lord Derby's. In referring to the debates which took place at the opening of the session of February, 1854, we are struck by one speech of Lord Derby's, which was absolutely prophetic of results about which men were then so generally in doubt. The Earl of Aberdeen expressed his firm hope that peace would be secured. The Earl of Clarendon vindicated the "confiding policy" towards Russia which had been pursued, and waxed marvellously eloquent against "a policy of suspicion," declaring, in harmony with his chief, his belief and hope that such a policy, which had been so ably and wisely followed, would secure peace even then, when war raged on the Danube, and was imminent to the Western powers. To these arguments Lord Derby offered this—as we now read it—startling confutation. His lordship's reasoning and predictions were too fatally verified. He ironically asked, "What must be the state of that country which was neither at war nor peace, nor yet neutral?" Taking the blue-books, the noble earl contended "that so early as the 7th of January, 1853, the government had ample information that Russia was preparing military forces to carry out her objects, whatever those objects might be. They had similar information in March, and again in April. It was true that Count Nesselrode's answer to representations on this subject were evasive; but there were the like accounts from our own consuls and agents in or near the countries where the forces were being collected. The noble earl, the foreign secretary, had in his possession the fact that Russia had been endeavouring to negotiate a secret treaty with Turkey against the Western powers, when he stated to their lordships, on the 25th of April last, that he had perfect reliance upon the friendly assurance of Russia. And subsequent

to this period had they any reason to believe that Russia would abandon her claims?" Again, quoting the blue-book, he argued "they must have had every reason to expect the contrary, particularly from the despatches of Sir George Seymour. The government had characterised the occupancy of the principalities as an act derogatory to the dignity and fatal to the independence of Turkey; but when it occurred did they remonstrate against it, or did they throw upon the czar the responsibility of war? No; but they mildly expressed their confidence in the czar's pacific intentions, and that the door would not be closed to an arrangement. But at the moment they were also encouraging resistance on the part of Turkey. After the czar had taken his step, it was not likely that he would withdraw upon such language; but if before he had ventured upon it energetic language had been held, the peace which the noble earl at the head of the government valued so much might have been preserved. With regard to the prospect of the future, he could not see any hope of avoiding war. On what did the noble lord rest his expectations of peace? Did he expect that the Emperor of Russia would suddenly recede from his position? If he did, it would be the strongest condemnation of the noble earl's policy; for in such a case, on what ground could he say that his attitude for war ought not to have been taken earlier? He did not blame the government for having endeavoured to preserve peace, though he did not approve of the means they had adopted; but if they were in earnest, and if they were embarking in this war in a manner worthy of the country, and of the justice of the cause, he should, waiving all other considerations, render them all the support in his power."

If any confidence may be placed in public men, Lord Derby might have been intrusted with a vigorous prosecution of the war. The people preferred Lord Palmerston as the premier of England, although believing Lord Derby would have carried out the vigour and sound policy pervading the above speech; and if he began his administration by a searching administrative reform, his ministry would have continued longer than any previous ministry had for some time. Lord John Russell accomplished nothing for himself or his country, however skilfully timed his Vienna disclosures were; nor did the visit of the Belgian king interrupt the current of liberal measures at home, and vigorous measures abroad, which Lord Palmerston was chosen by the people to direct. The debates of which Lord John Russell's conduct was the occasion occupied the attention of the House of Commons during the early part of July. On the 13th his lordship, to evade the effect of a vote of censure, of which Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had

given notice, resigned his place in the cabinet. On the 16th he offered his public explanations to the house, which was crowded with members and spectators, many members of the upper house being present. His lordship's explanations neither satisfied the house nor the country.

At this period, Sir William Molesworth was appointed to the vacant Colonial-office, an appointment which met with very general approbation, although a majority of the religious portion of the community regarded it with jealousy, from the opinions entertained by Sir William on certain theological and metaphysical questions.

The troubles of the government did not terminate with the resignation of Lord John. The Sebastopol Committee had brought its labours to a close (its history was noticed in another chapter), and in the result of the evidence there collected, Mr. Roebuck, its chairman, proposed a resolution to the house in the following terms:—"That this house, deeply lamenting the sufferings of the army in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of their committee, that the conduct of the administration was the first and chief cause of those misfortunes, hereby visits with its severe reprehension *every member of the cabinet whose counsels led to such disastrous results.*" Notice of this resolution had been given so early as the 22nd of June, and excited widespread discussion and impatient expectation through the country. Many who believed it to be a just expression of the nation's censure upon those to whom it referred were, nevertheless, afraid of disturbing the course of reform by perpetual discussions of so vital a nature, and of displacing Lord Palmerston, the only man it was believed capable of grappling with all the difficulties of the situation. On the 17th of July the resolution of Mr. Roebuck came before the house, and the discussion it created lasted two nights, and was then adjourned to the 20th. Almost every man of note in the house spoke. Lord Palmerston appeared to less advantage than probably he had ever before appeared on any great occasion. Lord John Russell defended all that he had done with an eloquence worthy of his best days, and pronounced a criticism on Mr. Roebuck's parliamentary oratory as correct as it was severe. No person acquainted with the style of Mr. Roebuck's addresses, whether on public platforms or in the senate, can fail to recognise the graphic exactness and expressiveness of Lord John's most pertinent description:—"I am constantly disappointed when listening to the honourable and learned gentleman's speeches. He begins with a very strong exordium. He places in the strongest light, in the most forcible language, and with the greatest effect, the argument

upon which he is about to dwell, and he ends with a very admirable peroration; but with regard to the argument itself, which should come in the middle,—with respect to the proofs with which an accuser should always be abundantly prepared,—in short, with regard to the substance of the speech itself, the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman is always entirely wanting. There are the beak and talons of the bird of prey, but the inside is nothing but straw." The motion of Mr. Roebuck was finally rejected.

Discussions that were angry and protracted arose on another great question—the Turkish loan. It was proposed that £5,000,000 sterling should be lent to the Porte to enable it to carry on the war, the loan bearing interest at five per cent., the governments of France and England guaranteeing the interest. When his lordship's resolution came before the house, July 20th, and an opposition, led by Messrs. Ricardo, Gladstone, D'Israeli, and Cobden, proved very formidable both in argument and obstinacy, Lord Palmerston stated that the security consisted, independent of the general resources of the Turkish empire, of the surplus of the tribute of Egypt, amounting to £65,000 per year. His lordship made statements concerning the revenue and expenditure of Russia, which showed the inability of that empire long to maintain a costly war. Sixty millions per year had been expended by Russia, while her income was only £30,000,000. This statement was correct; for an expenditure of £100,000,000 beyond her ordinary income had been created by the demands of the war upon Russia up to that date. When the house came to a division, the resolution of Lord Palmerston was only carried by a majority of three, and any majority was the result of the earnest representations of the premier, that it would humble her majesty, who would be compelled to break the convention into which she had entered upon the subject, and thereby endanger the alliance if the motion were lost.

During this debate, both the premier and the chancellor of the exchequer appeared to disadvantage as constitutional statesmen, for they both treated the sanction of the house as a mere matter of form. Probably the tone of both those important members of the cabinet on that particular point contributed more than anything else to the narrowness of their majority.

The progress of the Foreign Legion had been slow, and on the 9th of August there were only 3500 Germans and Swiss assembled for review by Her Majesty and Prince Albert. These foreign legionaries were most anxious to see her majesty, and made demonstrations of loyalty which her own subjects could scarcely have surpassed.

On the 14th parliament was prorogued, and on the same evening tidings arrived of the successful bombardment of Sweaborg, which will be related in another chapter. The policy of proroguing parliament was much discussed; it was generally thought that the recent conduct of the cabinet proved that the vigilant supervision of parliament was necessary to the public weal.

An event soon afterwards occurred of profound delight to France and England, and which all Europe regarded with speculative curiosity: the Queen of England visited the Emperor of the French in his gay and brilliant capital. Since 1431 no English king or queen had visited Paris; it was natural, therefore, that the European nations should feel an interest in it. Queen Victoria was the first sovereign of England ever invited to Paris with the hearty concurrence of the French nation. The Queen, her Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, left the Isle of Wight on Saturday, the 18th of August, at half-past four o'clock in the morning, on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht. The yacht was escorted by a powerful war squadron consisting of nine vessels. The squadron arrived at Boulogne at half-past one the same afternoon, the yacht steaming in between the *Neptune*, of 128 guns, and the *St. George*, of 120. The shore was lined with French infantry. The batteries saluted the royal squadron, the guns of which returned the salute, the heights of Boulogne echoing these loud courtesies. The emperor was ready to receive his royal guests, which he did with the most cordial greetings.

The efforts of the authorities and people of Boulogne, and of the general government, to give an imposing welcome to the royal family of England were on a grand scale. To these efforts his imperial majesty lent his aid. An *arc de triomphe*, 75 feet in height, decorated and crowned with evergreens and garlands of flowers, and bearing the arms of England and France, the flags of the allies waving above these insignia, was erected at the railway-station. The *arc* was surmounted with a colossal figure, intended to represent the genius of civilisation. At half-past two, the royal family and the emperor were placed in one of the imperial carriages, and amidst a salvo of artillery the train started. The arrival in Paris was later than had been expected; the shadows of evening were already falling upon the imperial city, where 800,000 persons were congregated, in every available spot, awaiting the arrival of the truly welcome guests. At last the booming of cannon announced that event soon after seven o'clock; a shout of joy was raised by the masses who thronged the thoroughfares, and this was re-

peated again and again as the imperial *cortège* appeared. The anxiety to see her majesty was much greater than that which had been displayed in England to see Buonaparte or even Eugénie, great as that undoubtedly was. French writers inform us that 100,000 soldiers preserved the line in the route taken by the procession. The preparations of citizens and officials to make Paris appear beautiful to her majesty, and to give to her reception all the *éclat* possible, were on a scale of taste and grandeur which could not probably be equalled in any other city in the world. The people were fatigued and discontented, waiting so long beyond the time at which her majesty was expected; but every trait of restlessness and dissatisfaction vanished when she came within sight. She returned the salutations of the people with grace and dignity; the prince and the royal children also acknowledged the greetings of the multitudes. The queen was greatly struck with the artistic profusion of ornament which decorated the streets and public buildings in the route of the procession. Triumphant arches, colossal eagles, English flags, choice sculpture, met the eye of the royal visitors everywhere; yet there was no redundancy, no confusion, there was nothing misplaced. Her majesty could not fail to be struck with the superior taste of the Parisian people, even amidst the demonstrations of their hearty welcome. It was nearly nine o'clock when the emperor and his guests arrived at the historic palace of St. Cloud.

On Sunday the visitors remained at St. Cloud, the day being respected by her majesty as Sabbaths are in England. The next day, the guests were conducted in the imperial carriages to various places of interest, such as the *Palais des Beaux-Arts*, the Elysée, where the *corps diplomatique* were presented; the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, and La Sainte-Chapelle. In the afternoon, the *cortège* passed along the whole line of the boulevards, which were decorated so as to impart an air of elegance and gaiety peculiar to Paris. Among the ornamental works which the citizens and the government produced for this occasion were a statue personifying the city of Paris, surrounded by foliage, flowers, flags, and cannons; a white column elaborately gilt, surrounded by a *parterre*, and surmounted by a globe and eagle; a vast triumphal arch, &c. The *façade* of the *Cirque des Chemins de Fer* was surrounded by a dense mass of allied flags, and from amongst them rose two standards, those of France and England, the ends of each being united in a ring formed of the letters of the words "for ever." On their arrival at St. Cloud, an elegant dinner of sixty covers was served for a select imperial circle, after which dramatic representations in the beautiful little

theatre connected with the palace, terminated the evening's amusements.

On Tuesday morning at half-past ten the royal party proceeded in open carriages to Versailles, where they inspected the magnificent works of art deposited there. Her majesty paused long before two of these, the famous painting, by David, of the Coronation of Napoleon I.; and, in the *Galérie des Batailles*, the representation of the Battle of Fontenoy, in which the English were defeated. There was, however, nothing in that battle to humble her majesty's national pride; for it was not won for France by Frenchmen, but by the Irish brigades in the French service, who, when ordered to cover the retreat of the French, charged, and snatched a victory from defeat. The countrymen and descendants of these exiled Irishmen were then fighting for her majesty, with equal glory, on the plateau before Sebastopol, and by the dark waters of the Tchernaya. Her majesty showed a pensive interest in the apartments of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. She was observed to enjoy her drive in the gardens, and the play of the far-famed fountains. In the evening, the emperor and his guests went in state to the grand Opera. The boulevards and the streets along which the carriages passed were brilliantly illuminated. Our French friends are masters in the pyrotechnic art, and their illuminations and fire-works on that occasion did honour to their reputation. Our History does not afford space—from the terrible details of war, and the conflicts of conferences and cabinets—to dwell upon the fairy scene which, in the night of the 21st of August, 1855, was presented in Paris. Within the Opera, magnificence seemed to reign; perhaps never before was the Opera House so grand in its artistic arrangements as on that evening. When their majesties entered “the house rose,” as is usual on such occasions, displaying an array of splendour, fashion, and beauty which no city could rival. A burst of acclamation rang through the vast building, which her majesty and her royal relatives acknowledged with evident emotion. The orchestra then played the British national anthem, the audience standing, and when the music ceased, the plaudits again rose in a whirlwind of exulting voices. The queen was dressed simply, as is her wont, rejecting profuse ornament; she wore but two royal decorations—the riband of the Garter, and a tiara of diamonds. She sat between the emperor and empress, and looked as queenly as ever she appeared when, in her own land, great occasions demanded dignity.

On Wednesday the visitors attended the *Palais de l'Industrie*. Here Prince Albert was most at home, and her majesty also seemed more interested than anywhere else. It was

the Paris Great Exhibition, and, therefore, brought to the remembrance of the royal pair their successful patronage of a still greater effort of the same nature. Prince Albert admired a colossal Sèvres vase, and the emperor begged his acceptance of it as a *souvenir* of his visit.

The emperor and his guests then proceeded *incognito* in a hired carriage to the *Jardin des Plantes*. The royal and imperial party were said to have enjoyed this part of their entertainment greatly, as the gaze of crowds was avoided. From thence they went to the Tuileries, where luncheon awaited them, and then returned to St. Cloud to a grand banquet, at which the *élite* of French society were present.

On Thursday Prince Albert again visited the *Palais de l'Industrie*, in order to make purchases for her majesty. In the evening the *Hôtel de Ville* was the scene of a great display, a *fête* having been given to the royal guests by the city of Paris—8000 persons were present. It was represented as the most splendid *fête* ever given in Europe.

Friday morning was occupied by the emperor and the prince in visiting the School of Musquetry at Vincennes; in the afternoon the queen paid another visit to the Exhibition. At five o'clock the whole of the royal and imperial parties attended a review in the *Champ de Mars*. Fifty thousand soldiers were drawn up for inspection. The troops received her majesty with vehement *vivas* as she rode down the lines; her cheek was flushed with pride and satisfaction; the multitudes who witnessed the glorious scene also joined their acclamations. Scarcely had her majesty witnessed the sublime display of an army and a multitude welcoming her with enthusiasm, while an emperor attended upon her, than the heavens were darkened, and a fierce thunder-storm burst over the *Champ de Mars*—the lightning flashes were incessant, and immediately followed by loud claps of thunder, showing how near the electric volleys. His majesty led the queen and her attendants within the Invalides, and they stood together over the tomb of the great Napoleon, while the troops and the populace dispersed, and thunder shook the dome of the great building beneath which they found a shelter. Many thought this ominous; it was at least deeply interesting, and strikingly dramatic. The granddaughter and heir of George III., and the heir and nephew of the great Napoleon, shook hands in fealty and alliance over the tomb of him whom the world once acknowledged as a conqueror, but whom Victoria's grandsire made a captive. Truly the times change, and we change with them! While her majesty stood (as persons present relate) with an expression of deep seriousness and awe upon her countenance, a

requiem from Mozart was performed upon the organ, adding pathos to the many elements which contributed to the varied and conflicting emotions of the hour. It was now night-fall, and no preparations had been made for a visit at so late an hour, so that the sombre hue of twilight gave a melancholy and burial tinge to the otherwise impressive associations of the scene. Suddenly the blaze of torches illuminated it, and the organ performed "God save the Queen," while the decorated veterans of the Invalides, who fought and bled in the ranks of the great Buonaparte, crowded in their uniforms to do her majesty homage. The emotion of her majesty was obvious to every one. A combination of remarkable circumstances, unprovided for because unexpected, seemed to express admonition and diffuse solemnity, as if an unseen hand arranged the programme. If the spirit of the great Napoleon were permitted to instil into the scene an animus accordant with his own sublimity, incidents could not have succeeded one another, or have stood associated in a way more calculated to bring up from the past the mingled memories of his ruin and his glory.

On Saturday morning the illustrious guests were conducted to St. Germain, and, after a drive through the forest, visited the apartments once occupied by James II. of England. As in the *Champ de Mars* and the Invalides, so the meeting at St. Germain had its coincidence. How strange that the heirs of the two dynasties by which those of Bourbon and Stuart had been set aside should there meet together as allies, having reached the very acme of their united greatness! How little could James II. have conjectured that a royal lady of the house of Brunswick should visit that spot as the guest of a French monarch by whom the Bourbons would have been then displaced! What false hopes as to the restoration of his dynasty shed their deceitful ray upon the gloom of the sombre apartments of St. Germain, where the exiled monarch sullenly plotted and languished! In the evening of the same day Victoria of England was borne, as if she were the queen of France, to the gorgeous palace of Versailles, where a grand ball was given in her honour by the empress. The columns of the *Moniteur* did not at all exaggerate the elegance and sumptuous grandeur of this assembly, and the place of assemblage, when it portrayed, in all the brilliant hues which French description delights to employ, the festive display:—"Hereafter the visit of Queen Victoria to the capital of France will be looked upon as one of those events which appear as a dream until realised. All who witnessed that enthusiastic reception, those manifestations of sincere cordiality and deep sympathy between sovereign and sovereign, and nation and nation, will

retain a lasting remembrance which they will love to tell in their old age, and which marks an epoch in the existence of individuals as well as in the history of nations." "The gallery of the mirrors offered a most dazzling *coup d'œil*. At the four angles, four orchestras had been erected, consisting of 200 artists, directed by Strauss and Dufresne. Flowers and shrubs concealed the stands of the musicians, and the harmony seemed to proceed from invisible instruments through a bower of dahlias, roses, and other flowers. Garlands hung suspended from the ceiling, and, interlaced with each other, formed the most charming decoration. Thousands of lustres and torches, reflected in the mirrors, threw streams of light upon the rich garments of the guests, covered with gold and ornamented with diamonds. On approaching the windows a still more admirable sight presented itself to view. The great sheet of water was enclosed by a series of porches, in the Renaissance style, standing out from the background of the park in coloured fire, and joined together by an emerald trellis-work. In the centre a portal, two-thirds larger than the rest, built like a triumphal arch, was surmounted with a double shield, with the arms of France and England. At the two corners to the right and left were two other porticoes, with the initials of their majesties. Under these brilliant arches the water sprang up in jets, and fell back in cascades. The two basins formed one vast sheet of light, upon which golden dolphins, mounted by cupids, disported, carrying circular torches and Venetian lights."

On Monday, the 27th, the Queen left Paris for England. The emperor and Prince Napoleon accompanied her to Boulogne, which they reached at five o'clock. A review of the French army, encamped upon the heights, was the last grand scene provided for her majesty, in which she was herself a participator. Here also another singular historical coincidence occurred. On these heights the first Buonaparte reviewed the troops destined, as he hoped, for the invasion of England. Now the queen of the realm which had bid successful defiance to his empire was the guest of his heir, and reviewed the armies of France as troops auxiliary to her own, on the heights where French generals often directed their telescopes towards the white cliffs of Dover, which they hoped to touch as successful invaders! It has been said that all Wellington won, time had reconquered; it was equally true that the policy for which the mighty Napoleon thought and struggled, with gigantic genius and gigantic resolution, had been reversed by the same Hand which is always remoulding and overruling the mutual policies and relations of the nations of the earth.

After the review the emperor gave his guests a farewell dinner at the Pavilion Hotel, and at night Boulogne was brilliant with illuminations. At eleven o'clock the Royal family of England embarked on board their yacht, while the artillery from the heights, answered by the fleets with louder thunder, uttered their sublime adieus. It was alleged that the houses of Dover and Folkestone were shaken by the reverberations thus produced.

As the royal squadron left the harbour, the heights were suddenly lit up by a magnificent pyrotechnical display, which was seen from the squadron far at sea. The next morning at nine her majesty and family were in their beloved home at Osborne.

We regret to write that the hand of Victoria bestowed charity to France as she retired from its shores, a gift of 25,000 francs having been given through the Minister of the Interior to indigent Frenchmen. It is wonderful that pride and public spirit did not constrain the minister to resign his place rather than be the medium of what was as mean to accept, as it was generous, although not proper, to bestow. Gifts of a similar nature were bestowed upon English beggars by the French emperor on his visit, which there were not pride and spirit enough politely to refuse. What would be thought of a private gentleman allowing a rich guest to bestow money in charity upon his poor relations, while seated at his table or when leaving his house? If Victoria or Napoleon wished the poor of their respective countries to be sharers in the festal enjoyments of the occasion, they might respectively have set apart for their own people a noble present; but the custom of allowing public visitors to pay for the atten-

tions they receive by largesses of this sort, is as despicable as for a man to allow his servants to levy black-mail upon those whom he invites to dinner. Hospitality should be pure, alike careful of the conscience and the purse of those upon whom its grace, and beauty, and bounty are bestowed. With the exception of these insulting distributions of alms by the respective guests, the royal and imperial visits were auspicious in everything, and left a most healthful impression on the public heart of both nations. With these events the present chapter on home appropriately closes, and our pen must be directed once more to narrations of sanguinary conflict, and, happily, of glorious triumphs to the allied arms.

Very suitably did the visit to Paris follow the triumph achieved in the Baltic, and preceded the coming glories of the conquest of Sebastopol. Scarcely had the embers of the Sweaborg conflagration died out, than the note of preparation was heard which issued in planting the banners of the allies on the defences of the besieged city, while the retiring foe forsook its burning ruins. In future chapters we shall relate circumstantially both these transactions.

Meanwhile, the royal and imperial heads of the allied nations were not exempt from anxieties. If it be a universally received adage—

“Uneasy lies the head which wears a crown,”

it is with the sanction of events that it has become so: councils in London and Paris despatches to Constantinople and Vienna, the transmission of troops and *materiel* to the remote theatres of war, filled up the space until the tidings flashed upon Europe and the world that Southern Sebastopol was destroyed.

CHAPTER XCIII.

RENEWED OPERATIONS IN THE SEA OF AZOFF.

“If to engage they give the word,
To quarters all repair:
While splintered masts go by the board,
And shot sings through the air,
Bold Jack, with smiles, each danger meets,
Casts anchor, heaves the log,
Trims all the sails, belays the sheets,
And drinks his can of grog.”—DIBDIN.

IN the last chapter relating operations in the Sea of Azoff, the narrative was brought down to the end of June. The following graphic letter, from a seaman on board the *Curlew*, gives a *resumé* of those exploits, which will recall them to the reader's recollection, and which, at the same time, illustrates the manly and adventurous spirit of our gallant tars:—

H.M.S. Curlew, July, 1855.

“It being now a long time since I wrote to you, I will endeavour to give you a short ac-

count of our proceedings since we have been up here. We left Sebastopol on the 22nd of May, with orders from the admiral to sink, burn, and destroy all vessels found in the sea. We accordingly reached Kertch on the 24th, and whilst we were pouring shot and shell into the town, our transports were engaged in landing 25,000 troops. As soon as the enemy saw our movements they immediately set fire to their magazines, and the explosions were most awful, but the sight was grand in the extreme.

When our troops landed they commenced to seek at once for what they could get. Some got drunk; others were holding up parasols; some put on women's dresses; and, altogether, the sight resembled a fair more than anything else. The enemy, being afraid of our shipping, left the place altogether; and we here took thirty guns, and burned two Russian gun-boats. It is supposed that £1,000,000 worth of property was here destroyed; besides, store-houses full of grain and public buildings were all destroyed. At night the sight was very grand to see the place all in flames, and the reflection showed for miles around. We next proceeded, on the 25th, to Berdiansk. We sent in boats manned and armed, our ships covering us with their fire. We here destroyed large stores of corn, besides burning the dock-yard and other public buildings, which were very valuable to the Russian government, and the loss must have been very great indeed. Our next place of visit was Mariopol. We here sent in boats manned and armed, and destroyed storehouses, shipping, dockyard, corn-houses, furniture, and everything that came in our way. We spared nothing at all. We went from Mariopol to Taganrog, and whilst going there our ships got aground on the Dolga sand-bank. However, after a few hours' hard work, we got the ship all right again. When we arrived at Taganrog, we vented our spite upon the Russians. As for my part, I burned everything I could—in fact, anything that would catch fire I committed to the flames. From that we went to Gheisk, a place of much importance to the Russians. There was a contractor here, who had engaged to supply the soldiers in Sebastopol with food for two years. However we burned all his stock, consisting of 574 large stacks of corn, besides his granaries, and everything that belonged to him; his corn alone was valued at £30,000. I expect many a Russian will go to his roost hungry-gutted this winter. We are still cruising about the sea, burning and destroying everything, besides what we take away. We live like fighting cocks. I take my cutlass on shore with me, and kill pigs, sheep, ducks, geese, fowls, and every mortal thing that I can put my hands upon. I might have as many pictures as would make a 74-gun ship, but I have no place to put them away; they require great care. You may depend when I come across any money I know I can find a place for it; but it is very scarce. I do not think the Russians are very flush in that article; however, I have done a little business. I will not let you know of what we did in particular. On the 26th of May we burned two Russian vessels, one laden with meal, and the other with salt and fish; on the 27th burned two Russian vessels; on the 28th took a Greek schooner as a prize, and burned a

Russian schooner; on the 29th burned two Russian vessels; on the 30th took a Greek brig as a prize, and burned a Russian schooner. We have in all taken fifteen vessels, burned twelve, and sent two to be sold at Constantinople, and sent one away with the Russian prisoners on board, fifty-seven in number, without compass nor anything to steer by, to find the best of their way wherever chance would let them go. I assure you I have been up night and day for a week sometimes together, so a sailor's life is not the most easy. I hear that the prizes were sold for £2500; I shall, therefore, come in for some of it. Well, I am very well and hearty; I can sing, smoke, dance, eat, drink, and work,—there is no want of that in this ship, however. I comfort myself that it may be for years, but not for ever, and whilst I think of that the time passes on; but every day seems to me a month. No more man-of-war life for me after this touch. It will be better bait than a biscuit that will catch me again. We shall get some prize-money for the Sea of Azoff.—I remain yours very affectionately,

“DENIS RYAN.”

At the beginning of July a “light steam squadron” was placed under the command of Commander Sherard Osborn, with orders similar to those given in May to Captain Lyons. The selection of Commander Osborn did credit to the judgment of Admiral Lyons. The French squadron was not of equal force, but consisted of good ships, manned by brave men. The senior officer was of superior rank to Mr. Osborn, and, therefore, entitled to take the chief command; but, deferring to the superior experience of the English commander, he resigned to him the chief direction of the enterprise in a spirit worthy of his nation. This little squadron cruised about the coasts of the shallow sea, inflicting mischief upon the enemy in every direction throughout the month. The fishing operations of the Russians were on a very extensive scale, the fish caught being cured and sent on to Simpheropol. The fishing-stations, with the fish collected, and the boats and nets, were destroyed, and serious loss of life inflicted upon the enemy in their efforts to defend them. Had they employed infantry instead of cavalry, and placed their riflemen on the shore in pits and under shelter, such as everywhere existed, the assailants must have incurred heavy losses, and, in some cases, have failed in their efforts to destroy property. The duty was harassing to the sailors, but still more so to the cavalry of the enemy, who were incessantly riding to and fro, nearly always at fault as to the true points of attack, or else, feigning to be so, they took care very frequently to keep out of range of shells, shot, and rockets. Frequently the



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